

The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

UNDER MARTIAL LAW.

THOSE of our friends who lend support to our outdoor propaganda meetings will be aware that for the past week or two those meetings have been suspended. Also, readers of this issue will notice that the Lecture List which until this date has appeared on the back page of this our official organ, has now been withdrawn. These occurrences demand some few words of explanation, which are offered here.

When the war broke out in August the Socialist Party unfalteringly proclaimed the Socialist position in relation to it. From our platforms and, at the first opportunity, in the columns of our organ we took up the clear and definite attitude dictated by Socialist principles and working-class politics. This attitude, it is quite needless to say, was neither popular nor free from peril. It drew down upon us on the one hand the hostility of the rampant jingo hooligans of the streets, and on the other hand the "patriotic" fury of certain parasites "dressed in a little brief authority."

Our object was not to bid defiance to a world gone mad, but to place on record the fact that in this country the Socialist position was faithfully maintained by the Socialists. With this object in view we placed our backs against the wall and fought. Our platforms were smashed up and our members injured by mobs egged on by bourgeois cowards who, as usual, had not the spunk to do their own fighting for themselves. Not this only : one of our speakers was arrested and imprisoned, while others were dragged before the magistrates and "bound over to keep the peace." In some instances the proceedings were rounded off by the victims being discharged from their employment by their "good, kind masters" for daring to hold political opinions of their own.

We fought this fight long enough to achieve our purpose. In the columns of the last four issues of the SOCIALIST STANDARD stand recorded our actions in this crisis, showing to the working class of the world that the Socialist Party in this country, acting in accordance with its declared principles, kept its hands clean in this, the most momentous crisis of its history. That is an asset to carry forward to the time when the war is finished.

But now we are faced with a new situation. On the 28th of November last were issued Orders in Council (Defence of the Realm [Consolidation] Regulations) which render the prosecution of our propaganda a work of extreme peril. The following extracts from the Regulations will serve to show the nature of the impediment we are up against.

27. No person shall by word of mouth or in writing or in any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed publication spread false reports or make false statements or reports or statements likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or to interfere with the success His Majesty's forces by land or sea or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers, or spread reports or make statements likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's forces, and if any person contravenes this provision he shall be guilty of an offence against these regulations.

57. A person found guilty of an offence against these regulations by a court-martial shall be liable to be sentenced to penal servitude for life or any less punishment.

In face of these restrictions and penalties the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to suspend propaganda meetings for the time being, and called a meeting of Party members, at which meeting their action was endorsed.

We are aware, of course, that we lost an unique opportunity of indulging in heroics. We shall be told, perhaps, that we ought to have gone on in defiance of the powers that be till we went down in a blaze of fireworks. Our view, however, was the sane one dictated by our avowed principles. We have always held that the supreme power is in the hands of those who control the political machine. The most we could hope for by going on was to prove that contention. But it is not for us to prove our contentions by acting in opposition to them.

There was no question of fighting for Socialism or Socialist principles. The Regulations were not, as far as we could judge, in the nature of anti-Socialist legislation. They were merely the precautions ordinarily resorted to by countries embroiled in a serious war. For this very reason we had nothing to gain by running counter to the Regulations, for just as the temper of the working class is, at the moment, such as to prevent them benefiting from our propaganda, so it would prevent them learning anything from our victimisation or martyrdom. Clearly, then, it was our tactics to place ourselves in such a position that only by the Regulations being strained to the point where they would become obviously anti-Socialist could we fall victims to them. These tactics demanded, in view of the risk of having our spoken words twisted and distorted in the Courts, that we suspend propaganda meetings for the time, and confine our activities to such forms of propaganda as would secure us from any attack that did not reveal the deliberate intention of our opponents to crush us under the cloak of the present situation.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

STRANGE ECONOMICS.

—o—

LET IT BE GRANTED. By W. T. CARLING. 6s.
net. London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row.

One of the saddest things in the world is an utterly futile and useless book. In such is reflected with peculiar vividness the most dismal features of the present social system. Because some crank imagines he has a message for the world he wastes his time wearing out good pens and consuming good ink; and because he can afford to pay for the indulgence of his crankiness, printers and publishers will waste further good material and futher social energy, from the compositors' labour at the bottom of the tree—ahem—to the reviewer's efforts at the top—haw! haw!—in the weary work of presenting to the public, books that the public does not want.

The appalling waste entailed in the production of the unasked volumes of those who can carry the burden of them upon their financially broad backs, embitters the reflection of those of us who know what the world is losing in the Great books which are waiting to be written, and must wait till our ship comes home, or we catch a weasel asleep, which is the allegorical presentation of a publisher with a tile loose.

But there is balm in Gilead to those who know that when the workers emancipate themselves, and so doing, emancipate all mankind, without distinction of race or sex, and without exclusion even of publishers and reviewers, the publication of an author's lucubration will not depend upon his lubrication—of his publisher, of course.

For it is hardly conceivable that in the good time coming, when the paper it is proposed to use in the making of books is the community's paper, and time and energy it is proposed to expend in the composition and printing of books is the community's time and energy—it is hardly conceivable, I say, that in that good time, the community will consent to the making of books that it does not want.

Not that these reflections are to be taken as directed upon the volume under review, which is by no means utterly useless, since it affords opportunity for a few lines of "copy," and so, in these hard and distressful times, follows Caesar's mortal remains in the lowly but still useful turn of stopping a gap. (That's half a column out of nothing.)

Mr. Carling has written a most peculiar book. It is a motley medley which leaves one in doubt whether he is a visionary who has had his brain turned by the crumbs which have fallen from the scientists' table, or a scientist who has been caught in the backwash of some religious revival and swept off his trotters. The truth doubtless is that he is a fanatic, a victim of a chronic form of religious mania, who has gone to the scientists and philosophers, not to discover the "eternal truth" he gabbles so pedantically about, but to pick up formulas and axioms and terms of logic wherewith to manufacture a quasienteristic hotch-potch of sophistry to bolster up his religious beliefs.

Mr. Carling, by way of throwing light on the title of his book, tells us that: "The ancient mathematician being desirous of communicating his mental discoveries to his students, . . . found it was necessary to have a base upon which he could build up his problems—a base which, however, his students would agree to accept. . . . Therefore he sought a few simple dogmas, which might be called revealed truth—something seen, discerned, not deduced . . . instead of asserting that these things were so, he appealed to his students to let it be granted—that these things are so."

This, of course, is an excellent beginning. The frank recognition that in all reasoning one must start with something granted, for the simple reason that "nothing can be evolved or deduced out of nothing," gives a sort of scientific glamour to the book, while not committing the author in any way. For it is quite obvious that whether what is "evolved or deduced" is sense or nonsense, it is equally true that one must start with something granted. Hence the recognition of this fact by no means compels the philosopher to build up his arguments on sense. Having said so much it becomes opportune to

give an illustration of Mr. Carling's method.

He requests the reader to take for granted certain axioms, starting with the unassailable one that "Identical results are produced from identical causes." He follows with other sound statements, and having impressed his readers with the infallibility of his "revealed truth," arrives presently at this: "That (sic) if two principles can be shown to be antagonistic to each other, then both cannot further the Kingdom of God."

This is our author's way. He starts out with obvious truths known of ages, as one who should say "water is wet," and having got so far on the crutches of "revealed truth" he flings them away and rushes on in the seven-league boots of revealed rubbish. All his talk of "revealed truth" has to come under the drop hammer of "the Kingdom of God"; all his conclusions have to be proved by Scriptural quotations. He criticises pretty freely all round, but the only remedies he finds or offers are the idiocies of the Bible bangers or the futilities of the "brotherly love" propagandist or the novelist who tries to proffer a social system which has no basis.

For instance, Mr. Carling, who, like so many

opponents of Socialism, is quite alive to many of the evils that afflict the working class under the present system, bankers after "the Kingdom of God upon earth" as the remedy—as far, that is, as any remedy is, in his opinion, desirable. The only "economic" basis for this social system (!) is that indicated in our author's appeal: "Let this be granted as the perfect law of life: 'All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them.'" The result the author sees arising out of the voluntary adoption of the "golden rule" is what he, with his penchant for impressive titles, calls, "Ideal Equity." His definition of "Ideal Equity" is: "The equity of value in exchange measured in periods of labour spent in the production of the articles being exchanged." (How blind, that he does not see that this is the very basis of exchange under the present sorry scheme of things, and results in the "Ideal Equity" of all owners of exchangeable things as such, which means the *real* subjugation of those whose only exchangeable possession is their labour power!)

Mr. Carling professes to think that with the adoption of this "perfect law of life" a "social revolution would be achieved unequalled by any previous reformation recorded in history." He tells us that under guidance of this rule "whatever wages or salary one received should be the rate by which he paid all those whom he employed to serve his own personal requirements." "The minister would only receive an hour of any other man's labour which he demanded in exchange for an hour of his own labour. The carpenter would give one hour's work for one hour's legal labour. The professor would not sell his skill, but would give one hour of his valuable labour for one hour's work of the bricklayer [not at all valuable, of course] to build his home." And so on.

How interesting he makes things when the "Direct Labour" maniac runs amok!

Just fancy Dr. Pound poison approaching that sturdy buck-navvy Bill Slinggrave in these terms: "Slinggrave, you don't look quite up to the mark. What is it—liverish? Feel tip-top! Nonsense, man! Anyone can see you've one leg in the grave. I've got a little job in your line and you had better let me patch you up long enough to enable you to do it. What's that? Ted Floorbasher's wife at the last gasp! Well, let him look for a doctor who wants a carpenter—I want a navvy." Or just think of our dear brother in Christ taking his shirt down to the laundry and asking to be permitted to wash the laundress in the blood of the Lamb as an equivalent under the scheme of "Ideal Equity" for the washing of his aforesaid garment, or the same sweet and reasonable servant of God bargaining on his doorstep with the milkman for one Imperial quart of new milk against X minutes product—under a legal standard pressure of frenzied fervour—of the pure milk of the Blessed Word. Or try to realise the same happy purveyor of spiritual nourishment trying to find butcher who desired to effect the exchange of a miraculously measured joint of "prime Southdown" for its "ideal" equivalent of the Lamb of God!

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,
REDDISH LANE, HORTON,
from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALISM
versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.C.B.
AND,
Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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THE LIFE HERE, OR HEREAFTER.

—o—

We are often told that evolution proceeds by cycles, wending upward as it were in helical fashion; a point of development in each period being a repetition of that below, though modified because on a higher plane. Some scientists amuse themselves by tracing these parallels with no apparent object other than surveying and marvelling, just as amateurs sometimes experiment in chemistry, amusing themselves with the effects produced, such as fermentation, explosions, and colour combinations. Occasionally, however, a parallel is drawn that has some significance and exposes the stupidity or fraudulence of those who claim superiority in knowledge and wisdom.

Grant Allen, in his "famous work," "The Evolution of the Idea of God," points out such a parallel. He says: "Thus the Cult of the Dead, which is the earliest origin of all religion, in the sense of worship, is also the last relic of the religious spirit which survives the decay of faith due to modern scepticism. To this cause I refer on the whole the spiritualistic utterances of so many among our leaders of modern science. They have rejected religion, but they cannot reject the inherited and ingrained religious emotions." And in another passage he remarks: "The fact is, the religious emotion takes its origin from the affection and regard felt for the dead by survivors, mingled with the hope and belief that they may be of some use or advantage, temporal or spiritual, to those who call upon them; and these primitive faiths and feelings remain so ingrained in the very core of humanity, that even the most abstract of all religions, like the Protestant schism, cannot wholly choke them, while recrudescences of the original creed and custom spring up from time to time in the form of spiritualism, theosophy, and other vague types of simple ghost worship."

Rather a long quotation, and not fully appreciated until read in conjunction with the recent statement by Sir Oliver Lodge: "We ourselves are not limited to the few years we live on the earth; we shall go on without it. We shall certainly continue to exist. I say it on definite scientific grounds. I say it because I have certain friends of mine still exist, because I have talked with them. I tell you with all the strength of conviction which I can muster, that the fact is so—that we do persist, that these people still take an interest in what is going on, that they still help us, and know far more about things than we do, and that they are able from time to time to communicate."

According to Grant Allen, Sir Oliver Lodge, obsessed with the primitive idea of the early savage, is a recrudescence to that early type. With all the advantages that civilisation and a scientific education can give him, he (like many others) is merely a specimen freak; but, as we shall see, conditioned by circumstances—just as the ignorance of the savage in the face of natural phenomena determined his beliefs. As Grant Allen says of those beliefs, "They were inevitable, and man's relation with the external universe was certain *a priori* to beget them as of necessity."

Propitiation of the dead, as Spencer shows, was the fundamental idea that dominated religion in its earliest days. The aid of the spirit was evoked for the achievement of the economic aims of the living. Since then, religion has evolved every form of belief in turn that was consistent with the economic development and prevailing knowledge of each period, culminating in abstract gods like Jehovah and Allah.

But science develops alongside of religion, and, in spite of religious antagonism and persecution, establishes once for all the Materialist Philosophy.

Then capitalism, dependent for its existence upon the continued ignorance of the working class, encourages every form of mystification that does not interfere with the cheapest possible methods of wealth production and the appropriation by the capitalist class of the largest possible portion of that wealth in the shape of surplus-value.

Sir Oliver Lodge is publishing evidence (!) that may either be fraudulently manufactured, or mental imagery, the result of aesthetic fasting or concentration. In either case his object is to

support religious beliefs generally and, through them, the capitalist system—an order under which every kind of chicanery and corruption flourishes. Those who feast at the capitalist board must needs justify the favours they receive. Titles are bestowed for generous subscriptions to party funds. A testimonial to the authenticity of ghosts and spooks from a distinguished scientist is received with applause by the class that see in the decay of superstition a sign that their system is over-ripe.

The motive of the scientist is more apparent than the usefulness of the actual discovery he professes to have made, until we remember a portion of his quotation: "these people (spirits) still take an interest in what is going on; . . . they still help us and know far more about things than we do."

Now the only direction in which the capitalist class need help (any help for the working class being out of the question, the spirits being nobbled by a capitalist defensor) is in their combat with Socialism. The discontent of the worker increases; Socialism has grown out of its Utopian youth to its scientific and practical manhood. But if the working class are becoming practical, the capitalist class have always been so, relying upon their control of physical force in the last resort, while they fight the revolution with misrepresentation and lies. How simple must Sir Oliver be if he imagines he can spoof them with spirit legions as theirs and other capitalist ministers have boasted armies that only existed on paper.

No matter what social or biological laws are responsible for his recrudescence, it must be obvious that Sir Oliver has rushed into the conflict on the side of superstition; and the frantic expression of his absurd "convictions" provides one more instance of the poverty of capitalist philosophy, and the pitiful despair and impotence of its defenders when confronted with materialist conceptions.

This is not an extremist or fanatical conclusion, but one that is forced upon us after a careful survey of the intellectual superstructure of capitalist society. Every section of capitalist pioneers and defenders admit the tottering state of their system when they cry—as do Beware of the Revolution.

From ecclesiastical circles emanates a prolonged screech of horror at the growth of materialism, in their eyes a certain indication of the proximity of "the day," which they would stave off with frequent libations of charity and gospel—decidedly more gospel than charity by the way.

In political circles the fear is no less marked. The Liberal Party is prompted by it to inaugurate social reforms—that do not reform—and carry on a tremendous propaganda of promises to abolish poverty. Why they do it was admitted by Mr. Lloyd George in his 1914 Budget speech, which is typical of the Liberal mind. "There was a revolt surging up in this country among millions of men against their conditions, and unless the rich and the opulent were prepared in time to make sacrifices to lift their less-favoured fellow citizens out of their wretchedness, the day would come, and it would come soon, when they would look back with amazement and with regret to the days when they protested against a one and fourpenny extra in insurance against revolution when it came from a Liberal Government."

The Tories expose their fear by the frequency with which they accuse the Liberals of breeding class-hatred; thereby acknowledging their acquaintance with the fact that revolution is the outcome of the antagonism of classes.

But Ecclesiastics and Politicians, clinging to the conditions of their respective creeds, are sane and rational in their methods compared with Sir Oliver Lodge and his efforts to popularise spiritualism either as a soporific for the working class or an oracle for the master class. But the scientist must always appear ludicrous when he attempts to bolster up religion or capitalism; he is out of his element because science, consisting of ascertained and ordered facts, cannot be used to justify superstition and anarchy.

Science cannot be restricted to the sphere of production alone, cannot be the mere handmaiden of industry. The pressure of numbers is felt in every profession, including scientists. They try to serve the capitalist in new ways; to

denounce materialism, however, is to deny their own offspring, the result of their collective labours; and when we find their personal opinions, as expressed, so obviously at variance with the facts they have laboriously established, we can only conclude they are actuated by material interests. Those interests, in the majority of cases, are bound up with capitalism, consequently we find that it is only on questions that affect the stability of capitalism that they differ. On such questions they contradict themselves and one another in the wildest fashion. Herbert Spencer showed the antagonism between science and religion, then pretended to reconcile them. Voltaire, described as the great Atheist and iconoclast, believed that "Natural religion was not only true, but indispensably necessary to the well-being of society." Charles Darwin, the first to define the laws that govern the evolution of life, and the most powerful opponent of the idea of creation, writes of powers having been originally breathed into the first forms; while Sir Oliver Lodge, who consistently panders to capitalism through religion, in a lapse to honesty denied the possibility of a beginning, saying: "To every past, however remote, there is an antecedent past. Nothing points to a beginning or to an end. At every point we can ask, and what before? or what after?"

Amid all the confusion and contradictory statements of those who claim to know, the worker may well ask: What can we believe? The answer is, believe nothing if believing means to accept it in faith without evidence. Ignore everything unless substantiated by facts and of sufficient importance from the workers' stand-point to justify examination. When facts like the motions of celestial bodies, the igneous and stratified nature of the earth's crust, the struggle for existence among life forms, the merchandise character of labour-power, and the class struggle that springs therefrom, have been ascertained, belief is unnecessary. Such facts have become established along with all the minor experiences of life—they are known.

The problem before the working class is not: Do the dead persist? Do plants think? Is there life on Mars? These questions may interest those whose duty it is to mystify or side-track the workers. They are outside the working-class philosophy, which must find its chief concern in those economic arrangements that condemn the working class to poverty and excessive toil. Because they are a slave class, and suffer more acutely than slaves have suffered in any previous age, they must study the nature of those social arrangements, of the system that makes them slaves. The cause of their misery will then become apparent to them; the class ownership of the means of wealth production. This class ownership is one of those established facts; quite beyond dispute or question. It is the pivot and centre upon which the capitalist system works. Until private or class ownership is abolished and Socialism—common ownership and democratic control—substituted for it, there can be neither emancipation for the working class nor improvement in their condition. The only life of which we are certain is the life here and now. Capitalism with its slavery, poverty, and insecurity, makes it a pandemonium of wretchedness and suffering. Socialism alone can make life worth living for the workers because, controlling their own means of life—within the limits imposed by nature—they would, under that rational system of society, live free, happy and eminently glorious lives.

F. F.

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THE NEW YEAR OUTLOOK.

We write on the eve of a New Year. It is no fault of ours that the strings we touch respond with doleful note. Only hypocrisy can furnish at such a time as this the light words which are considered seasonable and appropriate to the completion of another round of the calendar. Even the thoughtless mob, into whose pates it is so difficult to get an idea, take on the gloomy mental tone which the wholesale butchery now in progress everywhere impresses, and find escape in judicious circumspection from the obviously ridiculous. Thus by general consent the customary "Merry Christmas" of our greeting has been reduced to a "Happy," and we are wishing and being wished the ominously qualified "Brighter New Year."

Alas! the "vanity of human wishes"! Any discerning mind can see that, black and lowering as is the visage of the year departing, that of its successor is infinitely more threatening still. All the fighting and bloodshed of the past four months, terrible as it has been, has not in effect been a part of the main struggle, but only the fight for the field wherein the main conflict is to be decided. The real butchery is yet to come. Not for such preliminaries as have so far been worked out have the resources of nations been strained for half a century; not for such military child's-play as has comprised the war up to now has invention been added to invention in the making of the instruments of mechanical slaughter. For the full exploitation of these the ground had to be prepared by long and strenuous toil. The late fighting has been no more than a cover for this preparation. It is left for the New Year to provide that appalling welter of blood in which the awful efficiency and progress of modern armaments are about to prove themselves.

On the eve of such a catastrophe every sound must be a note of mourning, and the very atmosphere must lie heavy and stifling with the presence of Doom. The air is charged with rain for victor and vanquished alike and millions of working-class homes this unhappy New Year will pay in blood and tears for capitalist greed and working-class ignorance.

To the Socialist, however, every capitalist operation, however foul and bloody it may be, has some element of working class good in it. The present tragedy is no exception to the rule. The workers will learn from the conflict many things which the "fog of war," together with the fog of our masters' lying and deceit, cannot obscure. They will learn, for instance, just the value of working class lives in the estimation of those who have grabbed the world. They will learn—those who come through

it alive, whose interests they have really been fighting for. They will learn many other useful lessons also, which will readily suggest themselves to the mind of the initiated.

In a matter more directly connected with our propaganda, too, the war will certainly have the beneficial effect of clearing the atmosphere. It has for long been the habit of the Labourites and others in this country, and those occupying a similar position abroad, to boast that they held in their hands the instrument which would make it impossible for the ruling class of Europe to carry on a great war. This instrument was the General Strike. We all know how persistently it was stated that the organised workers of the various countries would, immediately on the outbreak of war, paralyse the war-mongers by "downing tools"! Yet where is there to be found a single instance, in the whole vast war-stricken expanse, of this "heroic" policy coming to fruition?

The "fog of war," we are aware, hides many things from our view. We know, for instance, that we have not told the truth with regard to the attitude of the German Social-Democratic Party in relation to the war. Hence we are chary of criticism in cases where we may possibly not be in possession of all the facts. This, however, is obvious: If any attempt was made in Germany to put the policy of the General Strike into operation, that attempt, in its utter failure to even so much as become an item of news, is as destructive to the theory as would be the failure to make the effort. But with regard to the advocates of the General Strike as an anti-war measure in this country we are not in the dark. Mr. Keir Hardie, for example, one of the more prominent of those at home who have toyed with the idea, has written to the Press denying that he has told the workers not to enlist, adding: "I know too well what is at stake." It is not out of this frame of mind that anti-war strikes are developed.

In this direction, as in many others, events have proved the truth of what we have consistently contended, namely, that the political conquest is the essential preliminary to any action involving the defeat of the present controllers of the political machinery. No wild words or frenzied ravings about "taking and holding" on the one hand, or "general striking" on the other, can replace political control. At the very outset this is shown in the adoption of martial law, more or less stringent according to the necessity of the case, by every country involved in the war. By this simple means the ruling class, through their servants the "heads of State," can deprive the people of every constitutional right if they so desire—can compel them, even, to go into the field of battle and there offer their bodies to the bayonets of the "enemy."

What sheer rubbish, then, the war has proved to all this talk of anti-war strike to be. To its advocates the opportunity came, and it found them powerless to avert war. The reason of the failure is easily seen. No matter whether the proletariat proceed against the master class by way of General Strikes or political conquest this one condition is essential to the carrying out of the operations—knowledge of working-class interests, or, as we say, class-consciousness. Only this can save the workers from being swayed by national sentiment when war is let loose. For this reason it is impossible, quite apart from the question of whether the step could be successful, to initiate a General Strike against war.

The only thing that can undermine the power of the ruling class is working-class political knowledge; the only way in which the political control can be wrested from the ruling class is by political action based sternly upon sound working-class political knowledge. The spectacle of the impotence of the so-called Socialist parties of Germany, Austria, and France, has proved this, whatever splits and quarrels may be revealed with the passage of time, and it is for us to drive home this further lesson of the war.

Meanwhile, the capitalist Press is travestying the position of the Socialists. Aided by treacherous reactionaries of the M. Beer type, our masters' newspapers play the game of pretending that the Macdonalds in this country, and the Vanderveldes and Bernsteins on the Continent, are the Socialists. We hope next month to issue a strong repudiation of the actions of these men.

BY THE WAY.

INTERESTING statistics with regard to the number of schools, with their accommodation, are furnished in a blue book issued recently on public education in England and Wales during 1912-1913.

One point stands out beyond all others—the innocents—265 special schools are necessary for defective and epileptic children, with a total accommodation for 20,333, whilst the certified schools for blind and deaf children numbered 89, with room for 6,782.

* * *

An official return issued on December 26th states that 63 persons in all died of starvation during 1913, eight of whom were old age pensioners. In each case coroners' juries found the specific cause of death was due to starvation.

Another year of office by our Liberal reforming politicians leaves the working class in much about the same position as it found them, whilst eight old people, who were to be "raised from the slough of pauperism to the dignity and the comparative comfort of State pensions" have starved like sparrows in the snow on Liberal liberality!

* * *

Our masters and their agents, who provide the latest form of entertainment—at a price—and bid us "walk in: we are now showing, see the world from an armchair," are now boozing the "war pictures" for all they are worth. In this connection a cinema prospectus affords interesting reading. One paragraph particularly deserves notice.

"Few people outside of the trade are aware that nearly all War Pictures are 'faked' or 'manufactured' by capable Cinema Actors with appropriate stage settings. The cost under efficient management is very small, and particularly so at the present moment when so many actors are out of employ. The profits of film production are simply enormous. . . . The demand is continuous, as each Theatre must have fresh pictures every few days to attract patronage. . . . The average picture film costs about 9d. per running foot to produce, and is hired out to theatres at 2d. per foot for three consecutive days, so that in a fortnight the initial outlay is already fully secured." (Italics mine.)

The above affords a good illustration of our masters' patriotism—and keen desire for profit. When the jaded worker seeks relaxation from his monotonous round of toil, the British capitalist will provide him with some "faked" war pictures, produced cheaply "when so many actors are out of employ." And perchance some recruit may be gained to defend "our honour" and our profits.

* * *

That present-day patriotism and profit are interdependent is shown by the following figure published by the Dutch Government and quoted by "Reynolds's Newspaper," December 6th, 1914:

"The quantity of tea sent into Germany from Holland during September and October 1913 1,028,356 lbs. " 1914 16,328,464 lbs. and the exports of cocoons from Holland to Prussia for October 1913 1,038,400 lbs. " 1914 7,581,200 lbs."

Any person who could be base enough to imagine that British tea and cocoons dealers ship their commodities to Holland as the best way of getting them into Germany is a traitor to the flag and should be taken out at daybreak and shot.

The exportation of tea has now been prohibited despite the efforts of one of the London M.P.'s to prevent the Government from taking action.

* * *

"In an article by Mr. Keir Hardie in yesterday's 'Pioneer' (Merthyr) he says: 'I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men from enlisting. I know too well all there is at stake.'" ("Manchester Guardian," November 28th, 1914.)

Two guesses—who does she mean?

Does he speak from the £400 per annum point of view?

* * *

We are informed by the "Manchester Guardian" of December 9th, 1914, that: "Since the outbreak of the war about 150 Boy Scouts have been employed by the military offices in the city [York], and by an arrangement between the military and the Education Committee the boys are employed in weekly relays, spending one week at school and one week at their other duties. The arrangement has proved a great success, and other educational authorities are considering the advisability of adopting it."

Doubtless the end in view is a two-fold one, for by using boy labour the employers obtain a cheap variety, and the men who otherwise might find employment in these offices are available for the recruiting officer.

* * *

In perusing the leading article in "Reynolds's" of November 29th, 1914, the present writer was somewhat surprised at the child-like simplicity of the writer of the article in question, for believing that the British capitalists would, in time of war, act more conscientiously than they had done in the past. Let me quote:

"We had hopes when the present war started that the seriousness of our position and the general feeling of patriotism, of moral uplifting and national unity, would have purged the nation of its baser elements. We sincerely believed that it was impossible for the intolerable scandals of the past to be repeated. . . . From all reports we were too optimistic; we rated . . . the integrity of a section of our traders and merchants too high. . . . If a tenth of the charges that are being levelled against contractors and officials in Government Departments are true, then the old, old scandals of the Crimea, the Mutiny, and the Transvaal are being repeated. . . . Allowing for all the exaggeration that may creep into the charges that are being made, there is still sufficient evidence to prove that the charges are not without foundation."

This, then, from a capitalist organ which has for weeks been telling us that "our honour" and "our integrity" were at stake! We should imagine from the foregoing that our masters have nigh or exhausted the before-mentioned honour and integrity.

And again, after referring to the charge that the Government is being made the victim of combines or rings of manufacturers who manipulate prices, comes the charge that the goods supplied are of inferior quality. "With regard to the second matter there is no difficulty whatever; the facts stare us in the face. We have watched some of the regiments of the new army as they drilled or paraded the streets. Their uniforms were of the veriest shoddy; their boots were of paper, they were neither properly clothed nor well shod."

What an unclean thing is Capitalism. It bogies rings, combines, shoddy clothes, shaky little wooden huts, horror of horrors, "the food in many cases is still reported to be scandalous."

The writer in "Reynolds's" asks: "What do Britons deserve who, in this hour of greatest need, attempt to enrich themselves at the expense of the comfort, the health, and even the lives of Britain's defenders?" and closes by stating that: "One section of our patriots are lip patriots only; the realm to which they own honest allegiance is in the realm of 50 per cent. If they can make it out of the British Government, good; if not, well can they not do business with Holland."

The capitalist class at all times enriches itself at the expense of the comfort, the health, and even the lives of the working class, and the only solution is for an intelligent working class to dispossess the master class of those things needful for the well-being of the whole of society.

* * *

"And for those also, O Lord, the humble beasts, who with us bear the burden and the heat of the day, and offer their guiltless lives for their countries." (Lady Paget in the "Daily Chronicle," 6.1.15.)

Two guesses—who does she mean?

THE SCOUT.

leave with the chief's instructions to earn some money they command a wage which in a short time enables them to buy wives and retire, much to the chagrin of the settler, who wants a "regular" labour supply. These natives seem to do very easily "without capital." The odour of a Kikuya villa is not exactly savoury, but its inhabitants are the possessors of a shameless plumpness of ear and body which contrasts strongly with the characteristic features of civilised workers. Mr. F. G. Affalo, who recently travelled through the country, sums up the matter in an article in the "Morning Post" as follows: "The Labour Question, acute just now all the world over, is nowhere perhaps more seriously felt than in British East Africa and Uganda. . . . It is not, as with us in Europe, any question of Jack thinking himself better than his master, or of strikes for better wages or shorter hours. It is the far more baffling problem of Jack not wanting wages or work at all!"

So serious is the matter considered that a Native Labour Commission was appointed some time ago, and the reply of the Colonial Office to its recommendations formed the basis of a discussion at the Convention of Associations, the "Settlers' Parliament," held June 29th—July 1st, 1914. Lord Delamere, probably the largest and most influential landholder in the country, and one time member of the Legislative Council, gave evidence before the Commission, and expressed the opinion that if every native was to own sufficient land on which to keep himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply would never be settled. Another witness, Mr. Hilton, advocated an increase in the poll tax on natives, which, he averred, would provide a sufficient supply of labour; presumably by making it necessary for a native to obtain the money required. In its report the Commission suggested that no increase be made of existing native reserves, and that taxation should be considered as a means of increasing the labour supply!

The Colonial Secretary in his reply, "hesitated to accept" these views, but the following extracted comment on par. 112 of the report is significant: "The Secretary of State deems it of the utmost importance that the Government Officers should take no action which may suggest to the native that it is desired to effect recruitment by compulsory measures, but definite instructions have already been issued by His Excellency to Provincial and District Officers to the effect that they are to lose no opportunity of explaining to the natives the advantages of going out to work, and are to refrain from making any observations which may lead the people under the impression that the Government is not desirous that they should do so. So they puzzle their heads to find some way of compelling the male native to work! And here they fall foul of the Missions and the Government; there are other people interested in these new colonies besides the settlers on the spot, and the interests of these others do not necessarily coincide with theirs.

For the present it suits the manufacturers of "exports" in England to be the "friends" of the natives. The raw savage who sports a greased skin and knobkerries his fellow is of no interest to the Lancashire cotton magnate. Let a missionary come along and teach him the advantages of a nightgown over the aforesaid skin and let him impress upon him the strong objections of God and the Government to such artificial restrictions on population as I have just mentioned; let him further teach him how to grow cotton on his plantation as well as medeas and hay presto! the cotton magnate has, simultaneously, a new market and a source of raw material!

This however is hardly good enough for the stalwarts of the Landholders' Pastoralists' and Agricultural Associations!

The Chairman of the Convention, after making the oracular announcement that every industry in the country relies directly or indirectly on labour, went on to say: "The labour is there, but we cannot get it, and we shall not get it until we show clearly that we mean to get it." Coupled with their proposals re labour the Convention also carries on an agitation for a Constitution, and has adopted as a propagandist object, a compulsory military service scheme in view of possible native trouble. Thus the settlers show a decided appreciation of the fact that their hope lies in politics and armed force! As one of their number candidly put it: "Apart from fear the natives have no special reason for remaining loyal to us!"

And one does not have to be a Solomon to realise that when the poll-tax is increased and the restriction of the reserves begins, the natives would have every reason for being decidedly disloyal.

It is not for the writer to predict how long it will be before the settlers gain their ends; but neither the productive capacity of the natives nor the market they afford for articles of European manufacture are inexhaustible, and it would seem that the exploitation of the resources

of the country on a larger scale will soon be necessary in the interest of capitalists at home. The acceptance of this view by the Imperial Government will spell the doom of the native's liberty and property and the chance of the settlers to realise the object that has brought them here, i.e., more profit. Probably they will even forgive the missionaries for inculcating in the native mind the notion of "brotherhood" (!) and submission. Need it be added that the natives will hardly be spared any of the horrors of wage-slavery?

What shall we say then? Are the settlers of British East Africa an exceptionally ferocious and callous set of "investors"? By no means! Go into your public libraries and hunt up Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" or De Gibbons' "Industrial History of England," and study the record of the 15th and 16th centuries in your own land! There you will find that the progenitors of the wage-earning class were as sturdy and independent, if not more so, than the inhabitants of Africa, and that before the capitalist class rose to the position they occupy to-day, they had to use against our forefathers, men of their own colour, almost exactly the same measures as are proposed here!

Without a labour market from which to draw exploitable material, capital cannot accumulate to the extent of providing its owner with a life of idleness and ease such as the respectable owners of the land and the means of converting its products into things of use, enjoy to-day! And turn to any country you will, the actual historic fact is that the labour market is created by the forcible divorce of the workers from their means of life! East Africa, then, is no exception; but it provides a modern and vivid object-lesson! Here the Convention admits in the shape of a resolution to His Excellency, the Governor, that the Government's delay in adopting their proposals resulted in "great inconvenience and financial loss" to them. Let the workers the world over take to heart the lesson, and further realise that, just as the possession of their means of life by the capitalist class is the cause of their subjection, so the ownership and control of such means for and by the workers themselves is the necessary and possible foundation of a free society! Let them further note the method, i.e., the political method, by which the ruling class have achieved and propose to extend their dominion! Not by passive strikes or individual acts of violence can the workers hope to achieve their emancipation. Only by meeting political action by counter political action will victory be won!

In conclusion may I offer a suggestion or two to your correspondent, "Engineer," re the question he raises in the April issue of the "S.S." To the extent that the coloured races are dragged into the capitalist maelstrom, they also show a tendency to adopt the standard of life and thought evolved by capitalism in Europe and America to a very large extent. There appears to be no reason why the "nigger's" consciousness should prove an exception to the general rule that the development of ideas reflects environmental changes! Further, the very rapidity of the change from barbarism and feudalism in Africa and the East should prevent any illusory notions concerning the duration of capitalism or the methods of its establishment, gaining ground there amongst the workers. To the present writer the age long superstitions which encrust the minds of European wage-slaves who cannot remember the origin of capitalism are far greater obstacles to universal working-class emancipation than the present undeveloped condition of the intellect of "coolie labour." Here in East Africa white wage-earners are only too ready to manifest those notions of race superiority which aid the capitalist class at the expense of working-class unity! Let the Socialist Party convince the "superior" white worker of his class position and they will not find his coloured competitor either unwilling or unable to learn.

ERIK BODEN.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

GEN. SECRETARY, S.P.G.B.

193 GRAY'S INN RD., W.C.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. 1), BY KARL MARX.

THE SECRET OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

We have seen how money is changed into capital; how through capital surplus-value is made, and from surplus-value more capital. But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus-value; surplus-value presupposes capitalist production; capitalist production presupposes the pre-existence of considerable masses of capital and of labour-power in the hands of producers of commodities. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing a primitive accumulation (previous accumulation of Adam Smith) preceding capitalist accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production; but its starting point.

This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and above all, frugal élite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind!

Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. M. Thiers, e.g., had the assurance to repeat it with all the solemnity of a statesman, to the French people, once so spiritual. But as soon as the question of property crops up, it becomes a sacred duty to proclaim the intellectual food of the infant as the one thing fit for all ages and for all stages of development. In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic.

In themselves, money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. They want transforming into capital. But this transformation itself can only take place under certain circumstances that centre in this, viz., that two very different kinds of commodity-possessors must come face to face and into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess, by buying other people's labour-power; on the other hand, free labourers, the sellers of their own labour-power, and therefore the sellers of labour. Free labourers, in the double sense that neither they themselves form part and parcel of the means of production, as in the case of slaves, bondsmen, &c., nor do the means of production belong to them, as in the case of peasant-proprietors; they are, therefore, free from unencumbered by any means of production of their own. With this polarisation of the market for commodities, the fundamental conditions of capitalist production are given. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other

than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the prehistoric stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it.

The economic structure of capitalist society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former. The immediate producer, the labourer, could only dispose of his own person after he had ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be the slave, serf, or bondman of another. To become a free seller of labour-power, who carries his commodity wherever he finds a market, he must further have escaped from the regime of the guilds, their rules for apprentices and journeymen, and the impediments of their labour regulations. Hence, the historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds, and this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freemen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

The industrial capitalists, these new potentates, had on their part not only to displace the guild masters of handicrafts but also the feudal lords, the possessors of the sources of wealth. In this respect their conquest of social power appears as the fruit of a victorious struggle both against feudal lordship and its revolting prerogatives, and the guilds and the fetters they laid on the free development of production and the free exploitation of man by man. The chevaliers d'industrie, however, only succeeded in supplanting the chevaliers of the sword by making use of events of which they themselves were totally innocent. They have risen by means as vile as those by which the Roman freed-man once on a time made himself the master of his patronus.

The starting-point of the development that gave rise to the wage-labourer as well as to the capitalist, was the servitude of the labourer. The advance consisted in a change of form of this servitude, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. To understand its march, we need not go back very far. Although we come across the first beginnings of capitalist production as early as the 14th or 15th century, sporadically, in certain towns of the Mediterranean, the capitalist era dates from the 16th century. Wherever it appears, the abolition of serfdom has been long effected, and the highest development of the middle ages, the existence of sovereign towns, has been long on the wane.

In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labour market. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. In England alone, which we take as our example, has it the classic form.¹

¹ In Italy, where capitalist production developed earliest, the dissolution of serfdom also took place earlier than elsewhere. The serf was emancipated in that country before he had acquired any prescriptive right to the soil. His emancipation at once transformed him into a free proletarian, who, moreover, found his master ready waiting for him in the towns, for the most part handed down as legacies from the Roman time. When the revolution of the world market, about the end of the 15th century, annihilated Northern Italy's commercial supremacy, a movement

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

In England, serfdom had practically disappeared in the last part of the 14th century. The immense majority of the population consisted then, and to a still larger extent, in the 15th century, of free peasant proprietors, whatever was the feudal title under which their right of property was hidden. In the larger seigniorial domains, the old bailiff, himself a serf, was displaced by the free farmer. The wage labourers of agriculture consisted partly of peasants, who utilised their leisure time by working on the large estates, partly of an independent special class of wage-labourers, relatively and absolutely few in numbers. The latter also were practically at the same time peasant farmers, since, besides their wages, they had allotted to them arable land to the extent of 4 or more acres, together with their cottages. Besides them, with the rest of the peasants, enjoyed the usufruct of the common land, which gave pasture to their cattle, furnished them with timber, fire-wood, turf, &c. In all countries of Europe, feudal production is characterised by division of the soil amongst the greatest possible number of sub-feudatories. The might of the feudal lord, like that of the sovereign, depended not on the length of his rent roll, but on the number of his subjects, and the latter depended on the number of peasant proprietors. Although, therefore, the English land, after the Norman conquest, was distributed in gigantic baronies, one of which often included some 900 of the old Anglo-Saxon lordships, it was bestrewn with small peasant properties, only here and there interspersed with great seigniorial domains. Such conditions, together with the prosperity of the towns so characteristic of the 15th century, allowed of that wealth of the people which Chancellor Fortescue so eloquently paints in his "Laudes legum Anglie"; but it excluded the possibility of capitalist wealth.

in the reverse direction set in. The labourers of the towns were driven en masse into the country, and gave up their "petite culture," carried on in the form of gardening.

(To be Continued.)

ALLIES IN SLAVERY

WHEN the present contributor had read last month's exposure of "Other Huns and other Louvains," he felt that it would not be complete without the testimony of yet another agent of the capitalist class in regard to the Congo atrocities with which the name of "brave Belgium" will be for many a long day primarily associated. We all delight in the testimony of our opponents in such matters. Said Sir A. Conan Doyle in a letter to the "Daily News," dated 3.3.1913:

"I read in your issue of March 1st the terrible letter of Mr. McCammond upon the Putumayo rubber trade, and I know well that no word of it is exaggerated. There is only one sentence to which I take exception, and that is 'Tribes are held in a bondage that is greater and far more dreadful than anything which took place in the Congo. That cannot be true, for nothing which the human imagination could conceive could be more dreadful than the deeds of the Congo, and the roasting of the two small Indian boys which your correspondent cites differs only in being on a smaller scale from a great many incidents which one might narrate.'

After pointing out that in Peru the British Government had no direct responsibility, Sir Arthur continued:

"In the Congo, however, the call of duty is clear. We have sworn (in company, it is true, of the other great European powers) that we would jointly guard the natives. The result of our guardianship has been that in less than 30 years this great country has lost at a fair computation about two-thirds of its inhabitants." (Italics mine.)

Superstitious people might indeed see the hand of nemesis in the fate of Belgium, and as for the question of innocent and guilty, anyone further afflicted with Master Maick's logic will be able to justify the Belgian

peoples' general and indiscriminate punishment, although the chief responsibility for the Congo horrors was brought home to King Leopold. Are we not told that "the monster they maintain at their head, stands for all that is true in their nature"?

+ + +

For anyone on this side to turn up such pages of history at this juncture, is, of course, to forsake all claim to respectability; it is like reminding Suffragettes engaged in a recruiting campaign, and in denouncing German vandalism, of their own exploits and attempts in burning "sacred places," etc. Hence it could not be expected of the hirelings of the inkling brigade of Fleet-st. to insist now in the fact that "their side" has a history full of awkward incidents. The Conan Doyle, Vances, etc. know it, and what is more, admit it at other times in their unguarded moments, but to state such truths now would not pay and consequently would not be respectable.

The case of the administration of the Congo is one instance, the non observance of the Anti-Slavery Acts of Berlin and Brussels is another.

Anti-Slavery treaties were renewed and signed by Great Britain, France, Portugal, and other countries at Berlin in 1885 and at Brussels in 1890. As usual, "In the Name of Almighty God," the said Powers swore (Berlin Act, 1885, Article IX):

"In conformity with the principles of the right of nations as recognised by the signatory Powers, the slave-trade being forbidden, and operations which on land or sea supply slaves for the trade being equally held to be forbidden, the Powers which exercise or will exercise rights of sovereignty or influence in the territories forming the basin of the Congo, declare that these territories shall serve neither for the place of sale nor the way of transit for the traffic in slaves of any race whatsoever. Each of the Powers undertakes to employ every means that it can put an end to the trade and to punish those who engage in it."

Art. VI says:

"All the powers exercising sovereign rights, or having influence in the said territories (Central Africa) undertake to watch over the preservation of the native races, and the amelioration of the moral and material conditions of their existence, and to co-operate in the suppression of slavery, and above all of the slave-trade"

By the Brussels Act it was solemnly undertaken:

- (1) To put "an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in slaves."
- (2) To protect "effectively the aboriginal populations."
- (3) To ensure that vast "continent the benefits of peace and civilisation."

Art. VI provided:

"Slaves liberated in consequence of the stoppage or dispersal of a convoy in the interior of the Continent shall be sent back, if circumstances permit, to their country of origin; if not, the local authorities shall facilitate as much as possible their means of living, and, if they desire it, help them to settle on the spot."

Yet, not only has slave-trading and slave-owning with all its attendant unspeakable cruelties and sufferings not been abolished after more than a quarter of a century, but, as the Anti Slavery Society had to admit as recently as last July, "Slavery is actually on the increase" "not only in foreign territories for which we have treaty obligations, but even in certain British territories."

So much then for the observance of sacred treaty engagements, for "national honour," and for our own "scraps of paper"; and although the most flagrant and persistent violation of the said treaties has probably been committed by Portugal, the responsibility is nevertheless as much on Great Britain's side, since Britain is by treaty bound "to defend and protect all colonies or Colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal." This was in fact admitted in the "Daily Chronicle" a little while ago, when it was pointed out that:

"Portugal's alliance with Great Britain has undoubtedly permitted her to violate with impunity both the Brussels and Berlin Anti-Slavery Acts by conniving for 30 years in widespread slave-traffic."

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At a time when Portugal is repeatedly assuring the British Government of its readiness to support the latter in its fight for "the vindication of treaty obligations" and "national honour"; at a time when atrocities are said to be the monopoly of certain Continental Powers; at a time when the British mailed fist (in accordance with the terms of the alliance) may at any moment be called upon to defend Portugal's slave-ridden possessions in West Africa; it will be useful to draw attention to some facts and details regarding the conditions in these particular "conquests" of Britain's ally—useful because the knowledge of these things will enable the uninitiated to realize the cold-blooded effrontery of capitalist governments pretending to be concerned about upholding national or international obligations, the rights of small nations, etc.

Anti-Slavery treaties were renewed and signed by Great Britain, France, Portugal, and other countries at Berlin in 1885 and at Brussels in 1890. As usual, "In the Name of Almighty God," the said Powers swore (Berlin Act, 1885, Article IX):

The Colonies in question are Angola, and the two islands of San Thome and Principe. Of the two islands, Mr. Harris says:

"Whilst both islands are bountifully blessed by Providence with fertility of soil, luxuriant vegetation and crystal fountains, a curse seems to have come down upon them since the Portuguese began an effective occupation, for man not only refuses to multiply and replenish, but dies out so rapidly that if no importation took place San Thome would be without a labouring population at all in ten years, and Principe in half that time. To meet this situation an annual importation of at least 4,000 labourers is necessary"—a deficiency which the Portuguese have for years filled up with slaves.

And as to the way in which the labourers were, and are being, obtained, we cannot do better than quote the evidence as summarised by Counsel in the famous libel action brought by Messrs. Cadbury against The Standard Newspapers, Ltd., in the High Court of Justice in Birmingham in 1909. Sir Rufus Isaacs, representing Cadbury, said:

". . . labour which certainly I think can only be properly described as forced labour, and constituting a condition of slavery. There is no issue in this case about that, and never has been. The plaintiffs themselves have come to the conclusion . . . that there was a condition which amounted to slavery in these islands."

"One of the great difficulties in connection with these plantations is the same kind of difficulty which has faced us in our Colonies—that is, the difficulty of getting labour; and it becomes more serious when you have got to look and find your natives from the centre of Africa, bring them down by forced marches right through what appears to be a very terrible part of the country which is known as the 'Hungry Country,' and in which every attempt is made, and it may be, that it is necessary to be made, for ought I know, to prevent them from running away, but they are marched down in that way to the coast, and then they are shipped—that is to say, after being selected. The richest people, I suppose, in the province of Angola select the best of the slaves from the natives who are brought in (really, it is nothing else but a system of slavery) for the purpose of domestic service in their own houses. Then with regard to the next lot, apparently there is another process of selection for the purpose of finding out who are the best for industrial and agricultural purposes in the Colony, and then, so far as one can see from the reports here, the residue is what is shipped to those two islands. . . ."

Sir Edward Carson, representing the defendants, summarising the evidence, said:

"Slavery! Have you ever heard at any time of

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

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CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

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MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82 Lissom-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at above address.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Tues. at 8, at above address in basement.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 180, Portmarnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portmarnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's Rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets alt. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 104, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday at 8.15. tures and discussion.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Room open only on Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis-rd, Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-rd.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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the world's history (and this is a broad statement) of worse conditions of slavery, have you ever heard of conditions more revolting, more cruel, more tyrannous, and more horrible than what has been deposed to as regards the slavery in San Thome? Men recruited in Angola, women recruited in Angola, children recruited in Angola, torn away against their will from their homes in the interior, marched like droves of beasts through the Hungry Country, and when they are unable to walk along for a thousand miles to the coast, shot down like useless dogs or useless animals, and the others brought down to be labelled like cattle and brought over to San Thome and Principe, never again to return to their homes. Three and a half years' life at the start until they are acclimatised is an average life of these people, and when their children are born, just as the calves of a cow or the lambs of the sheep, they become the property, not of their parents, but of the owners.”

And the author of the book added:

“It cannot be argued that the foregoing description is purely that of an advocate, for the facts were never called in question. The description given by Sir Edward Carson was never challenged by anyone, and finally all those who have a personal acquaintance with Angola, San Thome, and Principe know that the words uttered by this eminent Counsel only too correctly described the actual state of affairs.”

(To be Continued.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- “Weekly People” (New York).
- “Gaelic American” (New York).
- “British Columbia Federationist” (Vancouver).
- “Civil Service Socialist” (London).
- “Freedom” (London).
- “Cotton's Weekly” (Canada).
- “Appeal to Reason” (Kansas).
- “International News Letter” (Berlin).
- “The Western Clarion” (Vancouver).
- “The Socialist” (Melbourne).
- “Industrial Union News” (Detroit).

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Two or three replies are unavoidably held over.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY**OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THAT all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:o:—

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

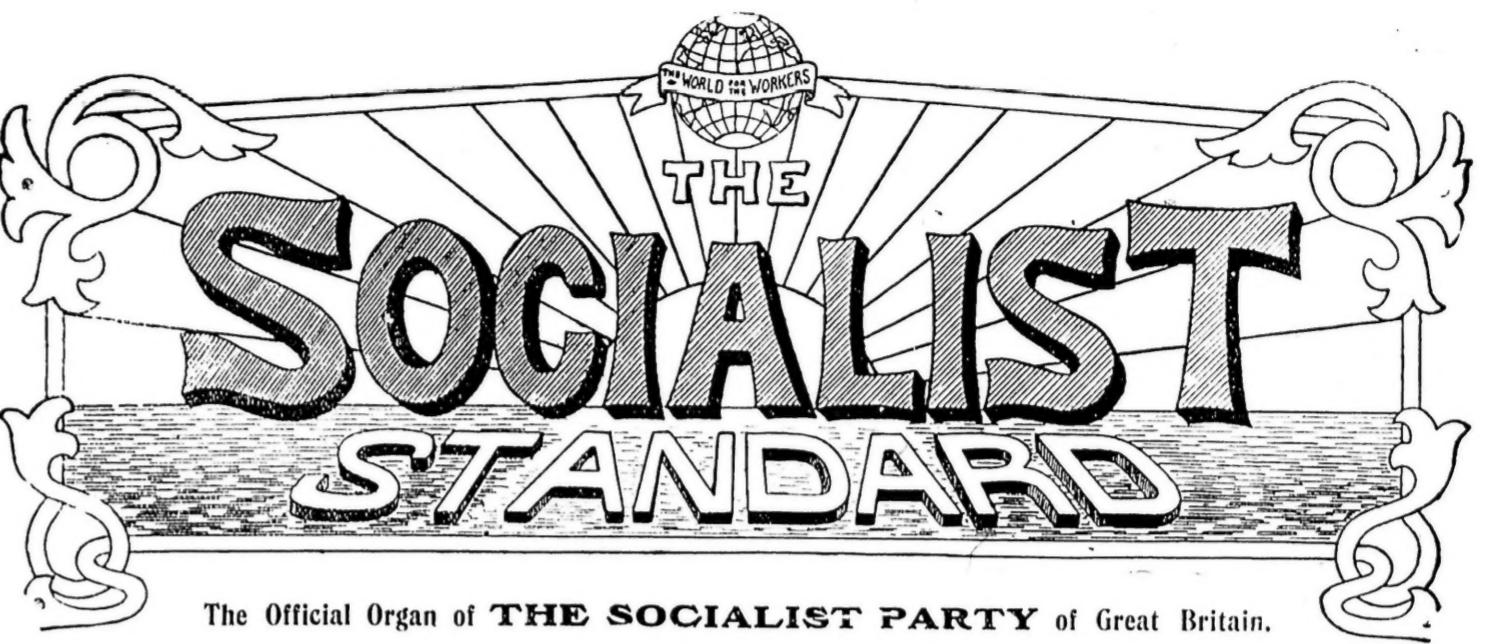
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The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 126. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY

SOCIALISM AND THE EUROPEAN "SOCIALISTS."

FELLOW WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The part played by the so-called Socialists of this and other countries in the present European situation calls for a further pronouncement by us upon the matter of the Socialist position in relation to the war.

In England, and we do not doubt in other countries too, the capitalist Press has seized with avidity the opportunity of making political capital at the expense of the Socialist Movement by parading under their distorting review the recent actions of those, both in this country and on the Continent, who have gained international prominence upon the claim of being advocates of and adherents to Socialist principles.

We should not take the responsibility of basing even the lightest of charges against any section or member of the working class upon the reports of such venomous rags as comprise the international capitalist Press, and we do not do so. But, unfortunately, when these organs point out that in the various nationalities those whom it pleases THEM to recognise and acclaim as Socialists—as the Socialists, in fact—have everywhere fallen before the appeal to nationalism, and are to be found on every side, bearing arms against their comrades in as tempestuous a blood-lust as the most conservative patriot, we know that, save for the exceptions which they take care to hide, it is true. We know that it is true, not because these hirelings have said it, but because it could, as we have always claimed, be the only possible result when the test came. Our knowledge of the foundations upon which the "great Socialist (?) parties" were built allowed of no other deduction than this, hence we now take what action we may to clear the Socialist Movement of the dire consequences and the stigma which have been brought upon it by the folly or deliberate treachery of those who have dabbled in compromise and confusion.

We have always held that the only possible basis for a Socialist organisation, no matter where it exists, must include

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

There is no capitalist country under the sun to whose social conditions this principle does not apply. We do not pretend that, had the great political parties of Germany, Austria, and France claiming a Socialist constitution, been firmly based upon this principle, it would have made even the slightest difference in regard to the war. For while we assert that only the knowledge and understanding of the principle of the CLASS STRUGGLE, with its implication of the unity of interest of the proletarians of all lands, could have saved the workers from that flood of national feeling which has swept them off their feet, we know how few adherents they could have found to the principle. They had not done the work necessary to give themselves any great class-conscious strength.

But if a class-conscious foundation to the so-called Socialist parties of Europe could not have affected the main course of events, it would have had at least this important result for the working class: it would have kept the name of Socialism clear of the stigma the enemies of working-class emancipation are now able to throw upon it. What have the millions of votes commanded by the so-called Socialist parties of the Continent accomplished for Socialism in this crisis? Nothing but harm. The workers of the world, who are to receive such terrible punishment for their ignorance, and to learn in such bitter suffering, will, when they awake from their nightmare of "patriotic" frenzy, judge Socialism by those millions of pseudo-Socialist voters who could not stand the test of

A CAPITALIST CALL TO ARMS.

For this reason the immensity of these organisations is itself the measure of the harm they have inflicted upon the Socialist Movement.

We have before us at the moment a circular issued by the Socialist Labour Party of America in which they state: "The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat . . ." This is another example of the opportunity the compromising policy of the pseudo-Socialists has provided for other enemies of class-conscious organisation. The statement is false. It is not for the reason that it is a "pure and simple political party of Socialism" that the "International Movement" has failed the workers in this crisis, but because its politics were impure. Its foundation had the cardinal fault which, among others, attaches to the pet obsession of the S.L.P.: it was not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle.

We, the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, declare again that there was nothing in the conditions of any country which justified Socialists voluntarily supporting either side in the war, and record our condemnation of such action as a betrayal of Socialist principles arising from lack of political knowledge and unsound political organisation.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Party cannot be accused, with fairness, of hiding from the world its Object, principles, and policy. The goal for which we strive, the reasons that direct us thither, and the methods by which we confidently expect to arrive at our goal are no secret. They are embodied in a summary form in the Party's Declaration of Principles appearing on the last page of every copy of this, its official organ.

The Party's Object is defined as the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distribution. This brief statement presents in a nutshell the whole broad, general outlook of the Party, and the key to all aspects of its philosophy.

In the first place the definition implies that the basis of society lies in economic conditions. It does not say, as some would have us believe, that society is purely economic, nor that Socialism is merely an arrangement for distributing wealth. This point is important in more ways than one; for while on the one hand it is a common accusation against Socialism that it will reduce us to mere animals, content to satisfy physical wants only, on the other hand we have the pseudo-Socialists who, in order to avoid awkward questions in the hunt for the votes of all and sundry, seek to confine their "Socialism" to a mere economic formula or an ethical generalisation, according to the particular circle of people to whom they appeal.

The Socialist Party, while failing to see how we can be degraded to a much more animalish condition than capitalism imposes upon us, claims that the exercise of our faculties in other directions than those concerned with food and the like, depends upon the satisfaction of our economic wants in the first place. "Man cannot live by bread alone." True! but without bread man cannot live at all. Until we discover the means for dispensing with the raw material from which we generate our energies, the expression of those energies will, to a large extent, be determined, in quantity and in quality, by the amount of raw material obtained and the conditions under which it is obtained.

What applies to the individual applies to a society of individuals. Just as buildings must rest upon bases, so the social organisation of mankind springs from the essential economic conditions of its existence. It is the product of the response of the consciousness of society to the influence of its inheritance and environment. Politics, art, philosophy, the relations of the sexes, all expressions of human thought and co-activity, bear the stamp of their economic mould and inheritance.

If we examine the relations of mankind in the matter of obtaining a living we find them centring around the means by which that living is obtained. From the earliest times to which we can trace human life it would appear that the human race has been distinguished from the rest of the animal kingdom by the acquisition and use of tools and weapons.

Puny in physical powers in comparison with many of the living beings around him, and in significant in the physical sense before the blind forces of nature, man's co-operative thought has resulted in the production of means whereby co-operative action secures the triumph of mankind over these beings and forces. Mark that it is the capacity for "holding together," for mutual protection, that has provided the leisure wherein individuals could discover and develop the instruments of social progress in the first place, and preserve and hand on these instruments to countless generations in the second place.

There are two main aspects of men's relations to their means of living which it is as well to distinguish. We might define them respectively as the industrial and the legal sides of the economic basis of society. The industrial side consists of the relations of men as users of the means of production, that is, as producers of wealth. The legal aspect is comprised in the forms of property or ownership of the means of production and, as a result, of the wealth produced.

The industrial relations develop along paths

largely irrespective of the conscious will of mankind according to the nature of the implements used in production. It is characteristic of modern machinery that it links up numbers of hitherto separate simple processes into a huge, complex, single series of processes. The specialised man, therefore, tends to become supplanted by the special part of a machine, and the workers are linked up in huge concerns which often deal with the article produced from the stage of raw material to finished commodity.

The ownership of the ever developing means of production, however, is determined in strictly conscious and deliberate fashion by the most powerfully organised section of the community in accordance with their material interests. This brief statement presents in a nutshell the whole broad, general outlook of the Party, and the key to all aspects of its philosophy.

We further find that the industrial and legal aspects of society's present basis do not harmonise. The users of the means of production are not the owners, and the wealth produced by huge armies of workers goes into the possession of a comparatively small number of individuals.

Society is divided into conflicting classes. This brings us to another implication of our Object, namely, that it is possible to change the form of wealth ownership.

If we take a glance at history we see that the weapons of man's war with nature, and the relations centring round them, have been subject to considerable change. Tools have been improved in the direction of time and energy spent in their use. Consequently there has taken place a progressive increase in the product of social labour-power, independently of the normal increase in population. This development may be divided into two main epochs. The first comprises the prolonged change from the simple weapons of hunting and pastoral man, capable of serving a variety of purposes (the knife and the axe, for instance), to the specialised tools of the handicraftsman and agriculturist (as the loom and the spinning wheel, the saw and the plane, the plough and the harrow).

The common feature of the tools alike at the beginning and the end of this period is that their motive power is derived direct from man. The second period, hardly 200 years old, embraces the application of scientific discoveries to industry and the control of natural forces on a large scale, for the purpose of driving the complex machinery which turns out the commodities of to-day.

The industrial relations of mankind reflect this development. Simple co-operation prevailed in the chase and the tending of flocks and herds. With the development of agriculture and handicraft it gave way to an individualisation of productive effort. This specialisation, however, in turn gave rise to interdependence which, breaking down local and national barriers, has led to the socialisation of industry in a more complex and universal form. It is difficult for a modern workman to consider himself detached from his fellows as a worker.

What of property? Here, too, we find the same evolution. The tribal and family collectivism of the hunting and pastoral epoch, in which all of the same kindred enjoyed economic and social equality, broke down in favour of the private ownership of land and tools which was essential to the progress of new methods of gaining a living.

The second change, however—to Socialism—demanded by the nature of modern production, has yet to be accomplished. That it will be accomplished is as inevitable as that an embryo chicken, having become complete in the relative development of its parts, should smash its shell.

The development of private property has had three distinct stages, and it is of importance to notice how each form gave way to its successor.

The adoption of agriculture as a mode of production led to the break-up of the old, tribal unity and the introduction of the patriarchal family, with its slaves—who were generally captives of war. The city-states (Babylon, Athens, Rome) represent the highest types of this form of society.

So extensive became the slave population that its supervision led to the development of a special military caste, which, as the progress of agriculture rendered a more intensive cultivation necessary, overthrew the local power of the

patriarchs, and federating with the king at their head, became a feudal aristocracy.

Under their domination the slave was transformed into a serf. Whereas the former had his product directly confiscated by his owner, who was responsible for his maintenance, the latter was established in permanent conjunction with the land of his lord, to whom he was bound to render certain fixed services in return for the privilege of cultivating for himself certain portions of the manor or village property.

The development of handicrafts and commerce gave rise to another class—the merchants. Villages grew into towns, and again the struggle for mastery began. It ended in the downfall of the feudal class and their peculiar form of annexing plunder, and a new form took its place.

Divorced from the soil, the peasant became a wage-slave, forming a labour supply for the merchants and manufacturers, enabling them to compete the independent handicraftsmen out of existence.

The power of the plutocracy has steadily increased from that day to this, but now it, too, is threatened. The modern ruling class stand face to face, not with a new prospective ruling class, but with a slave class amongst whom revolt against all class rule is rapidly spreading. Modern industry has massed the workers together, and they grow daily more conscious of their potential might. History shows that as the industrial conditions of society change, so the legal property relations are changed sooner or later by the conscious effort of the class on whom the further progress of industry depends. Thus is vindicated a third implication of the Socialist object.

It remains to show what conditions remain to be fulfilled before the modern revolution is an accomplished fact. In the first place the workers must become fully conscious that the proposed change is necessary in their own interest. The facts of their every day life, whether they are perceived directly and independently or as a result of the agitation of their fellow-soldiers in the Socialist Party, are sufficient to teach them this. Secondly, this consciousness must be followed by universal organisation, for only by this means can the established order be made to give way to a universal system of co-operation. Finally, this organisation must at present take a political form. We have seen that all the social changes of history, from tribal communism to patriarchy, from that to feudalism, and from that again to capitalism, have taken place as the result of a struggle between classes developed by industrial progress. Force alone decided the issue. Only when the revolutionary class can impose its will in opposition to its enemy can the new property conditions come into being. The classes of old fought their battles out in actual physical conflict. The modern ruling class is not a military entity, however: the defenders of its wealth are drawn from the ranks of the oppressed class itself. So physically insignificant are our masters that even their system of government dare not take its way without the support of the majority of the rest of society, while the direction of the political machinery is more and more entrusted to traitors from the ranks of the slaves. It needs only conscious organisation to wrest from the trembling grasp of the tyrants the only weapon with which at present they beat any rebel section of us down. Before any attack on their property they are impotent without the aid with which society supplies them. Conceive the great majority of society self-conscious, possessing control of their own political machine, and what stands in the way of the common ownership and use of the means of life in equality by all who accept the task of producing what they need? Aye! what? That is the challenge to the intelligence of the working class which is embodied in the existence of the Socialist Party.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

GEN. SECRETARY, S.P.G.B.
193 GRAY'S INN RD., W.C.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. 1), BY KARL MARX.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

(Continued.)

bers of people have been deprived of the means wherewith to maintain themselves and their families. The Act, therefore, ordains the rebuilding of the decayed farm-steade, and fixes a proportion between corn land and pasture land, &c. An Act of 1533 recites that some owners possess 24,000 sheep, and limits the number to be owned to 2000. The cry of the people and the legislation directed, for 150 years after Henry VII., against the expropriation of the small farmers and peasants, were alike fruitless. The secret of their inefficiency Bacon, without knowing it, reveals to us. "The device of King Henry VII.," says Bacon, in his "Essays, Civil and Moral," Essay 29, "was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient house and castle." Although the royal power, itself a product of bourgeois development, in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of free proletarians was heralded on the labour-market by the breaking-up of the bands of feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Stewart well says, "everywhere uselessly filled house and castle." Although the royal power, itself a product of bourgeois development, in its strife after absolute sovereignty forcibly hastened the dissolution of these bands of retainers, it was by no means the sole cause of it. In insolent conflict with king and parliament, the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands. The rapid rise of free proletarians was heralded on the labour-market by the breaking-up of the bands of feudal retainers, who, as Sir James Stewart well says, "everywhere uselessly filled house and castle."

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THE FORUM.

[To THE EDITOR.]

Sir,—In perusing the December No. of the "S.S." I noticed with some surprise a statement appearing over the initials of "F.F." in his review of the life of Parnell. I take exception to the following statement:

"The Industrial Unionist copies the lawlessness of the Fenian with sabotage, but has never yet—even in United States—scored any success worth mentioning."

Now my information regarding the rights of Free Speech, etc. has been that the I.W.W. has done vigorous, useful, and necessary work in that direction. If my information has been wrong I shall be grateful to be corrected.

The Battersea local of the I.W.W. are having an address from two fellow workers who have just arrived in this country, on Dec. 14th, the theme to be: "The Work of the I.W.W. in America." My object in writing is that you (if possible) depute someone to attend that meeting and support the contentions in "F.F.'s" article.

In the article our friend quotes from the reference is not, as he would seem to imply, to the I.W.W. of America only, but to Industrial Unionists all over the world. Sabotage is one of their chief planks, much advocated, but, of course, practised little. The meaning of the passage quoted, especially when taken with the rest of the paragraph, should be clear. The Industrial Unionists, even in the United States, where they are strongest, have gained by Sabotage nothing worth mentioning. It must also be clear that the writer of the above, although he takes exception to the passage, yet raises nothing that even questions its accuracy. For if the I.W.W. have, as he claims, "done vigorous, useful, and necessary work" for the right of free speech, he neglects to tell us if they won any of these "rights," and how sabotage was instrumental in that direction. The I.W.W. no more fights for free speech with sabotage than the Fenians did with outrages.

Mr. Savage is evidently mixed as to his terms. Sabotage, in theory, looks so big in his mind that it stands for Industrial Unionism, of which—according to its apostles—it is merely a part. But even bad I said that Industrial Unionism has gained nothing worth mentioning for the workers, my critic still gives no reason for taking exception even to that. Every party fights for free speech, i.e., they contend with the obstacles that hinder the dissemination of their ideas. The Suffragettes contended against bollards; so did the Welsh Christ; so also did the Liberal Party during the South African War. But what have the workers gained by their efforts? Have they gained any rights, knowledge, or material improvement?

It is not so much free speech that the workers require as speech embodying that which is, from their viewpoint, essential, logical, and correct. The Industrial Unionists might advocate Sabotage and the General Strike until the workers believed in them as pathetically as they to-day believe in the "directive ability" of the capitalist or the "brotherhood of Capital and Labour"—and what then? They would only have learned how to destroy wealth, or to hinder its production. The problem waiting their solution to-day will still be the same that confronts them to-day—how to produce for their own use instead of for the profit of the capitalist.

For this problem the Industrial Unionists have no practicable solution; and until they have we can only class them with all the other freak organisations that "claim the right to babble."

One of the "friends" mentioned in Mr. Savage's letter, at a previous meeting of the I.W.W. asked the speaker (who had favoured political action by the workers): "Of what possible value is the vote to the worker, seeing that when he has given it is no longer under his control, is, in fact, lost?" If this is a sample of their "free speech" we do not regret our inability to respond to their invitation, which, by the way, arrived a day after the meeting announced.

F. F.

worker. Their burden is oppression, tyranny, and brutality, as practised by the masters all over the globe—alike on the squares of London and of Petrograd, of Paris and of Berlin.

Russian autocracy still sends its best men to Siberia, though we call them friends and allies, and German workmen will still, we hope, send help and collect funds to assist their brothers in British trade unions when the latter are fighting against the brutality of the English master class, as they have done in the past.

Put aside for the moment the call of the patriotic ironmaster trust magnates, of the shoddy khaki cloth manufacturers, of the sponge and paper boot dealers, and of the rotten meat purveyors: such "patriotism" exposes itself. Ignore their specious pleading for a moment, and in that moment of sanity ask yourselves, Briton or Boer, Pole or Prussian, Frenchman or Turk, why should not that Christmas handclasp over the trenches, that expression of friendship that would out, continue?

Would it not be a more sane proposal to continue that handclasp as expressing the close and firm comradeship of the toilers of the world rather than that this horrible butchery should be maintained? Perhaps it seems impossible, but one day the workers will awake to the consciousness of its desirability, and the Socialist work for that day.

Now, however, your masters call the tune you dance to. They have chosen your enemy for you. They have propounded the reasons for the fight. They have arranged the battlefield, and they, doubtless, will stay the slaughter when it pleases them. Their interest is obvious. Their cause is clear. Their action is logical, however callous that logic may be.

But, fellow workers, is our cause so clearly shown in the present conflict? Is our interest in any way bound up in the defeat or victory of the opposing armies?

If our bitter enemy sat in the opposing trenches—an enemy so bitter that we must shoot him on sight, then to shake hands is treachery; but is it logical to suggest that to shake the hand of those who have assisted us in the past and who bear us no more hate than the blind, unreasoned lip-curse, is an action of treachery?

No, our enemy is not in the trenches. Our foe is those who sit in the halls of the great and on the boards of directors of catering and clothing concerns; the capitalists whose wealth is drawn from the blood and sinew of the sweated waiters and sempstresses; the politicians and "intellectuals" who, with smooth tongue and richly bribed pen, fool the masses to their undoing; the Labour shepherds who "lead" the revolt to waste for the reward of a seat in the secret council of the Molock Capital.

Shall our sword be drawn to fight foreign workers misled by a gang equally as unscrupulous as they who endeavour to mislead us here? Shall our hatred be wasted upon those of our class who are fooled into participation in a bloody struggle for the spoils of exploitation—a struggle that will cease as it began, with the exploited worker still the bottom dog; with the wage-slave still "on the knee"?

Why not save our energy for a better cause?

TWELVE

TO THE PRINCES OF THE CHURCH.

O.O.—

You prate of love and murmur of goodwill, Turn sanctimonious eyes toward your God, Write on your walls the text "Thou shalt not kill," Point out the path your "Prince of Peace" once trod,

While all the time, with murder in your hearts, You lie, cajole, and bully that the fools Who heed your words may play their foolish parts.

As slaves of Mammon, as the War-Lord's tools. On many a field, in many a river bed, Of Flanders and of Poland and of France, Your bloody-minded words bear fruit indeed. Preachers of Death! the thought of maimed and dead

Will nerve us when our hosts of Life advance To crush for ever your accursed breed.

F. J. WEBB.

OTHER "HUNS" AND OTHER LOUVAINS.

O.O.—

2.—SOUTH AFRICA, CHINA, ETC.

The previous article under this heading dealt with a state of affairs which existed on the Congo under the Belgians in times of peace—or shall we say in pursuance of ordinary business; the present article deals with the actions of nations at war. Its object is to show that "Huns" and "Louvains" are a common feature in every war, and are not monopolised by this or that nation. It also shows again the hypocrisy of the capitalist Press campaign against German methods of warfare. Whatever can be said of German methods can with equal truth be said of British, French, Russian, Japanese, Italian, or any other nation's methods. War is war, and all the Hague Conferences will leave it at what it is—a horrible and bloody display of all that is vicious and barbaric in mankind. No act of barbarism has been committed in the present war that has not been equalled in almost any other war.

A lot of noise has been made of Germany violating Belgian neutrality, tearing up scraps of paper, etc. This is nothing new. Every one of the above-mentioned nations has ignored such agreements, and is prepared to do so again when its interests are served in that way. Begbie, of "Fall in" fame, told the truth when he said that "At every Christian frontier you can pick up a broken treaty and a dismembered bond." ("Daily Chronicle," Aug. 5th, 1914.)

The invasion of Belgium is trotted out as being the chief reason for England's declaration of war upon Germany. To show the hypocrisy of this claim one has only to call to mind the war in South Africa against the Dutch Republics. We there see what concern the rulers of this country have for the independence of small States when there is something to be gained by annexation. Even Mr. Lloyd George was compelled to admit that "We went into war for equal rights, and we were prosecuting it for annexation. We went into the country for philanthropy, and we remained in it for burglary" ("Manchester Guardian," July 26th, 1900), while a member of the Cape Assembly, an Englishman, Mr. Merriman, is reported as follows: "I say 'never again' will England hold the title she did as the friend of small peoples and the unwavering champion of liberty. . . . When it is a question of tyranny towards some small Powers, how can she say anything? The Transvaal and the Free State will be flung in her teeth." ("The Speaker," Oct. 27th, 1900.)

Nobody but a fool would to-day deny that the South African War was a capitalist's war; and when all the fogging issues that have cropped up in the shape of immediate causes, and which the Press in each country have used in a campaign to trip the workers, have been cleared away, the capitalist nature of the present European War will be as clear as daylight.

The South African War, it is true, was more clear owing to the fact that a considerable section of the capitalists in this country, although they had to help finance the war, did not stand to benefit by it. Naturally they quarrelled with those who stood to benefit through it; and when thieves quarrel they sometimes tell the truth about one another.

One or two extracts from speeches of that time will show that the idea of the clique of capitalists who engineered the war was that under "good government" (meaning the British type: the type most favourable to their interests) they would be allowed to work the gold mines with cheaper labour and increase their already enormous profits.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, for instance, said:

"We are not going to war for the amusement of Royal families as in the past, but we mean practical business." ("Daily Mail," Aug. 14th, 1899.)

At a meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company of South Africa held at Cannon St. Hotel, London, Nov. 14th, 1899, Mr. J. H. Hammond, the Company's engineer, stated that under English rule he hoped to cut down the wages of the Kaffir by one half. At the same meeting he justified his calculation by saying:

"With good government there should be an abundance of labour and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount. (Laughter). His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements. (Renewed laughter)." ("Financial News," Nov. 21st, 1899.)

What these gold-mongers wanted, then, was to lay hold of the reins of government in the Republics, remove the burden of taxation from the mines, introduce cheaper labour, force down the wages of the labourers already there, and so increase their profits.

As to the conduct of British soldiers in war read the following extract from De Wet's "Three Years' War" (pp. 242-3):

"Proclamations had been issued by Lord Roberts prescribing that any building within ten miles of the railway where the Boers had blown up or broken up the railway line should be burnt down. This was also carried out, but not only within the specified radius, but also everywhere throughout the State. Everywhere houses were burnt down or destroyed with dynamite . . . the furniture itself and the grain were burnt, and the sheep, cattle and horses were carried off. Nor was it long before horses were shot down in heaps, and the sheep killed by thousands by the Kaffirs and the National Scouts or run through by the troops with their bayonets. . . . The devastation became worse from day to day. . . . Could anyone ever have thought before the war that the twentieth century could show such barbarities? No. Anyone knows that in war, cruelties more horrible than murder can take place, but that such direct and indirect murder should have been committed against defenceless women and children in a thing I should have staked my head could never have happened in a war waged by the civilised English nation. Yet it happened."

On page 287 the same author says: "The enemy, moreover, did not spare our cattle, but either drove them off or killed them for food. As for our women-folk—any of them who fell into the hands of the enemy were sent off to the concentration camps." The treatment of women is such a serious matter that it would require whole chapters to deal with it adequately."

Regarding these concentration camps, General L. Botha declared on May 30th, 1902, that no less than twenty thousand women and children had died in them up to that time. (*Ibid.*, p. 492.)

Gen. Botha, in reply to the proclamation of Lord Roberts referred to above by De Wet, said:

"It is already known to me that barbarous actions of this kind are committed by your troops under your command, not only alongside or near the railway, but also in places far removed from railways. Wherever your troops move, not only are houses burned down or blown up with dynamite, but defenceless women and children are ejected, robbed of all food and cover, and all this without any just cause existing for such proceedings."

The Lord Roberts proclamation stated that "all provisions, cattle, etc., shall be removed."

But lest any critic should object to these statements as they came from "the enemy," let us see what other evidence can be found. A Canadian officer (E. W. B. Morrison) on the conduct of the war wrote as follows:

"There were a number of very fine farm-houses near by and we saw the Boers leaving them and making off. The Provost Marshal came up from the main body, removed the Boer women and children with their bedding, and proceeded to burn or blow up the houses. From that on during the rest of the trek, which lasted four days, our progress was like the old time forays in the Highlands of Scotland two centuries ago. The country is very like Scotland and we moved on from valley to valley 'lifting' cattle and sheep, burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and cry beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. It was the touch of Kitchener's iron hand. And we were the knuckles. We burned a track about six miles wide through these fertile valleys and completely destroyed the village of Willpoort and the town of Dulstroop . . .

"The column marched into Willpoort, a pretty little village surrounded by hills. The guns were placed on the hills and trained on the place and the cavalry and mounted infantry rode into it and burned every house and shop except one belonging to a British subject . . . When the mounted troops rode back they looked like a gang of dissolute pedlars. Their saddles were hung like Christmas trees with shawls, cloaks, mandolines, tea-kettles, lamps—every sort of imaginable article—besides chickens, geese, sucking pigs, vegetables, and agricultural products galore." ("Manchester Guardian," Feb. 23rd, 1901.)

Sir H. Campbell Bannerman described the methods of the British in South Africa as "methods of barbarism." ("Times," June 16th, 1900.)

The writer could quote evidence of burning and looting and the rest of the horrors of the South African War from almost all the prominent papers that are to day shrieking about German vandalism, as if such things had never been heard of in modern English history.

Let us move now to that magnetic spot which has for years been attracting the great commercial robbers of the whole world, viz., China. The endeavours of the European Powers, along with America, to open up China as a market for their manufactures together with a continual nibbling at her territory, and the meddling of missionaries, led in 1900 to what is known as the "Boxer" rising in Shan-Tung. Like a flash Britain, America, France, Germany, and Russia were at her throat, and a terrible massacre ensued. The following is taken from leading articles of the "Manchester Guardian," Dec. 27th, 1900 and Jan. 4th, 1901:

"European civilisation was in a certain sense on trial in China when the military operations of the powers began. Yet it is well known that there was hardly a crime against civilisation that this international army of civilisation did not commit. The rules of warfare laid down at the Hague Conference, to which China was a party, were all disregarded. Non-combatants were slaughtered wholesale; towns were systematically pillaged; women were treated worse than the men."

The "Daily Telegraph," Sept. 14th, 1900, says:

"The French and Russians have committed frightful atrocities at Tung Chow, outraging and slaughtering women and killing children."

Of the Russians, Germans, and French the leading article of the "Morning Leader" (Dec. 31st, 1900) says, they

". . . seem to have revelled in rapine and murder. A band of brigands who kill, burn, ravish and loot," is Sir Robert Hart's description. "Bloodshed, rapine, and rape" is the terse summary of Dr. Dillon. It is he who has described the cold-blooded massacre of three hundred "perfectly innocent" coolies by the Russians at Tsaku. . . . a Japanese journalist draws some terrible pictures of the French and Russians at Tung Chau. Nor does his evidence stand alone. Dr. Dillon has already told us in the "Fortnightly Review" that "Tung Chau and Pekin girls and women of all ages were raped first and bayoneted afterwards."

Just one more quotation relating to the Tulu rising in Natal in 1900 which was suppressed by the British.

"About nine o'clock a.m., Mudhlogo-zulu, the paramount chief, approached carrying a white flag. Some two or three hundred accompanied him. He arrived a few yards in front of a sergeant and explained that he wanted to give in. The reply of course was a bullet that must have sent his brains some fifty yards off. His followers . . . stood back and shrieked for mercy. Mercy came quicker than they expected

—in the shape of Maxim. What a sight! The bundle dropped lifeless in less than a minute. Several women were among the slain as well as a lot of young boys. . . . A faithful Kaffir was looking about the fallen when he found Bombaata (a chief) and at once took steps to have his head brought into camp for identification. Well, the first thing the doctor ordered was to have the matter kept secret, and also to have it stuffed at once. . . . We carried

the head with us for about a week, when it was dissected and the skull will probably be made into a nice tobacco jar for someone. . . . I think it is the finest picnic I have ever been at."—"Daily News," Aug. 16th, 1906.

In conclusion, after reading the above evidence the reader should ask himself the question "Why is it, then, that the capitalistic Press of this country is straining all its resources to gather information regarding German atrocities?" The reply is not hard to find. These reports, whether true or false—they care not—are pushed before our noses in order to engender racial hatred. At any other time the Germans or anyone else can and do commit all manner of atrocities and they are only mentioned incidentally or not at all. J. W. P.

ALLIES IN SLAVERY

(Conclusion.)

O.O.—

The Portuguese claim, of course, that they have abolished the slave trade and slave owning in their Colonies since 1871. "The Planters," says Mr. Harris, "demand this attitude, and the governing authorities (partly because they are in the power of the planting community, and partly because an admission of the actual conditions would gravely embarrass Portugal and her ally Great Britain) keep up the fiction that their West African labour systems are purely those of free contract labour." (Italics mine.)

The fraudulent nature of this claim is well exposed in the pages of Mr. Harris's book, and will be easily realised when we look at the circumstances in which the "contract" is concluded.

Upon arrival at the coast the labourers, utterly exhausted through long marches, are brought to the "Curador's" office to give their "consent." It is admittedly nothing but a matter of form, the black not having the faintest notion of what is going on in the office. But even if he did understand something about the proceeding, could anyone explain to him how a five years' "contract" becomes one for life? The truth of the matter was summed up by Mr. Vice-Counsel Smallbones in his recent official report, wherein he pointed that: "From what I have been able to gather, all the 'servicos' I have now seen were bought in the province of Angola; their original contract was a shame and the renewed contracts were a farce." (Italics mine.)

What is true of the "contracts" is equally true of all the other "regulations" which have been and are being issued from time to time. They merely exist on paper, unless, indeed, they are actually turned *against* those whom they were supposed to benefit. As instance, the regulations concerning the repatriation of the slaves. Reformers were, no doubt, under the impression that they had rendered a signal service to humanity when in 1878 (seven years after the abolition of slavery!) a new regulation was issued providing for the repatriation of the services at the conclusion of their "contracts" until even the Vice-Governor of Angola had to admit to Mr. Smallbones in November 1911 that "repatriation had become une mauvaise affaire," that men "had not been repatriated, but expatriated." In the first place, until 1908 (thirty years after!) not one of the slaves had been liberated, and though, according to Mr. Harris, "by 1913 a couple of thousand slaves had been restored to the mainland, it is clear that for the most part only the infirm and, from the planter's point of view, the useless, were being set free."

Moreover, there is a mass of evidence to show that by far the greater number of "repatriated" have been landed in Angola in an absolutely destitute condition, although another regulation passed in 1903 provided that each "repatriated" labourer should receive £18 upon landing in Angola. The "repatriated," says Mr. Harris, "in vain sought for work . . . and a few days later there lay, in the outskirts of Benguela, out in the open, no less than fifty corpses; those who did not or could not resort to theft in order to live had simply died of starvation."

Thus are these unfortunate people "helped to settle on the spot," as provided in the Brussels treaty, Article LII!

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE:**
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.**BRANCH DIRECTORY.**

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 7½, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee Hou e, Speacial-st., Bull Ring, 11 a.m. 1st & 3rd Sundays.

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PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashby House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets altm. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15. Lecture and discussion.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open only on Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 a.m. the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

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WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
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N.B.—The issues rom Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

A typical instance of what becomes of workers' savings is to hand in the account given by Mr. Spurley Hey, Director of Education for the City of Manchester. The school population was about 120,000, and 56,878 of these were depositors in the school savings banks.

They deposited £54,532
And withdrew £51,404

The average deposits were not £1 each, and, like other "workmen's savings" were nearly all withdrawn. As a further sign of working-class prosperity this is quoted from Mr. Hey: "The dinners provided for Manchester children last year numbered 727,463." The growth of the number of municipal feasts is taken by certain people as a benefit instead of as pointing to capitalism's increasing pressure upon the workers.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

S. H. HIGGINS (Tottenham).—Thanks.

Printed and Published by THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY**OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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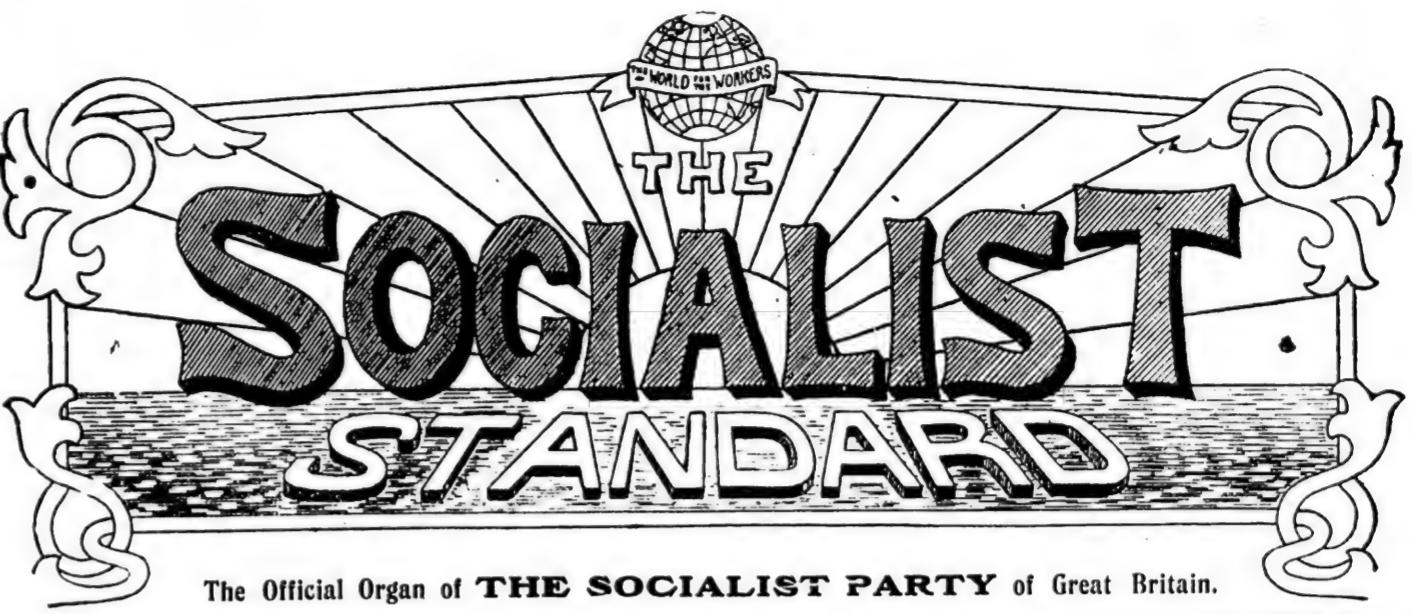
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LONDON, MARCH, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

A RUSSIAN CHALLENGE.

We have received the following and publish it in order to show the trickery resorted to by the pseudo-Socialists responsible for the London Conference in endeavouring to exploit the Russian Socialists, whose challenge they dared not face.

A DECLARATION TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

CITIZENS.—Your Conference calls itself a conference of the Socialist parties of the allied belligerent countries, Belgium, England, France and Russia.

Allow me first of all to draw your attention to the fact that the Social-Democracy of Russia as an organised body, as represented by its Central Committee and affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau, has received no invitation from you. The Russian Social-Democracy, whose views have been expressed by the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma, now arrested by the Tsar's Government (Petrovski, Muranoff, Badaoff, Samoiloff representing the workers of Petrograd, Yokaterinoslaff, Kharkoff, Kastroma and Vladimir districts) have nothing in common with your conference. We hope that you will state so publicly, as otherwise you may be accused of distorting the truth.

Now allow me to say a few words with regard to your conference, i.e., to tell you what the class-conscious Social-Democratic workers of Russia would expect from you.

We believe that before entering upon any deliberations with regard to the reconstruction of the International, before attempting to restore international bonds between Socialist workers, it is our Socialist duty to demand:

(1) That Vandervelde, Guesde and Sembat immediately leave the Belgian and French bourgeois ministries.
(2) That the Belgian and French Socialist parties break up the so-called "bloc national" which is a disgrace to the Socialist flag and under cover of which the bourgeoisie celebrates its orgies of chauvinism.

(3) That all Socialist parties cease their policy of ignoring the crimes of Russian Tsarism and renew their support of that struggle against Tsarism which is being carried on by the Russian workers in spite of all the sacrifices they have to make.

(4) That in fulfilment of the resolutions of the Bale conference we hold out our hands to those revolutionary Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria who are prepared to carry on propaganda for revolutionary action as a reply to war. The voting of war credits must be condemned without any reserves.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats have committed a monstrous crime against Socialism and the International by voting war credits and entering into a domestic truce with the junkers, the priests and the bourgeoisie, but the action of the Belgian and French Socialists has by no means been better. We fully understand that conditions are possible when Socialists as a minority have to submit to a bourgeois majority, but under no circumstances should Socialists cease to be Socialists or join in the chorus of bourgeois chauvinism, forsake the workers' cause and enter bourgeois ministries.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats are committing a great crime against Socialism when, after the example of the bourgeoisie they hypocritically assert that the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are carrying on a war of liberation "against Tsarism."

But those are committing a crime no less stupendous who assert that Tsarism is becoming democratised and civilised, who are passing over in silence the fact that Tsarism is strangling and ruining unhappy Galicia just as the German Kaiser is strangling and ruining Belgium, who keep silent about the facts that the Tsar's gang has thrown into gaol the parliamentary representatives of the Russian working class, and only the other day condemned to six years penal servitude a number of Moscow workers for the only offence of belonging to our Party, that Tsarism is now oppressing Finland worse than ever, that our Labour press and organisations in Russia are suppressed, that all the millions necessary for the war are being wrung by the Tsar's clique out of the poor workers and starving peasants.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party,
London, February 14th, 1915. M. MAXIMOVICH.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. I), BY KARL MARX.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION FROM THE LAND.

(Continued.)

AFTER the restoration of the Stuarts, the landed proprietors carried, by legal means, an act of usurpation, effected everywhere on the Continent without any legal formality. They abolished the feudal tenure of land, i.e., they got rid of all its obligations to the State, "indemnified" the State by taxes on the peasantry and the rest of the mass of the people, vindicated for themselves the rights of modern private property in estates to which they had only a feudal title, and, finally, passed those laws of settlement, which, *mutatis mutandis*, had the same effect on the English agricultural labourer, as the edict of the Tartar Boris Godunof on the Russian peasantry.

The "glorious Revolution" brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist appropriators of surplus value. They inaugurated the new era by practising on a colossal scale thefts of state lands, thefts that had been hitherto managed more modestly. These estates were given away, sold at a ridiculous figure, or even annexed to private estates by direct seizure. All this happened without the slightest observation of legal etiquette. The crown lands thus fraudulently appropriated, together with the robbery of the Church estates, as far as these had not been lost again during the republican revolution, form the basis of the to-day princely domains of the English oligarchy. The bourgeois capitalists favoured the operation with the view, among others, to promoting free trade in land, to extending the domain of modern agriculture on the large farm-system, and to increasing their supply of the free agricultural proletarians ready to hand. Besides, the new landed aristocracy was the natural ally of the new banking and of the newly-hatched *haute finance*, and of the large manufacturers, then depending on protective duties. The English bourgeoisie acted for its own interest quite as wisely as did the Swedish bourgeoisie who, reversing the process, hand in hand with their economic allies, the peasantry, helped the kings in the forcible resumption of the Crown lands from the oligarchy. This happened since 1604 under Charles X. and Charles XI.

Commercial property—always distinct from the State property just dealt with—was an old Teutonic institution which lived on under cover of feudalism. We have seen how the forcible usurpation of this, generally accompanied by the turning of arable into pasture land, begins at the end of the 15th and extends into the 18th century. But, at that time, the process was carried on by means of individual acts of violence against which legislation, for a hundred and fifty years, fought in vain. The advance made by the 18th century shows itself in this, that the law itself becomes now the instrument of the theft of the people's land, although the large farmers make use of their little independent methods as well. The parliamentary form of the robbery is that of Acts for enclosures of Commons, in other words, decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people. Sir F. M. Eden refutes his own special crafty pleading, in which he tries to represent communal property as the private property of the great landlords who have taken the place of the feudal lords, when he, himself, demands a "general Act of Parliament for the enclosure of the Commons," admitting thereby that a parliamentary *coup d'état* is necessary for its transformation into private property, and moreover calls on the legislature for the indemnification for the expropriated poor.

Whilst the place of the independent yeoman was taken by tenants at will, small farmers on yearly leases, a servile rabble dependent on the pleasure of the landlords, the systematic robbery of the Communal lands helped especi-

ally, next to the theft of the State domains, to swell those large farms, that were called in the 18th century capital farms or merchant farms, and to "set free" the agricultural population as proletarians for manufacturing industry.

The 18th century, however, did not yet recognise as fully as the 19th, the identity between national wealth and the poverty of the people. Hence the most vigorous polemic, in the economic literature of that time, on the "enclosure of commons." From the mass of materials that lie before me, I give a few extracts that will throw a strong light on the circumstances of the time. "In several parishes of Hertfordshire," writes one indignant person, "24 farms, numbering on the average 50-150 acres, have been melted up into three farms." "In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire the enclosure of common lands has taken place on a very large scale, and most of the new lordships resulting from the enclosure, have been turned into pasture, in consequence of which many lordships have not now 50 acres ploughed yearly, in which 1,500 were ploughed formerly. The ruins of former dwelling-houses, barns, stables, etc., are the sole traces of the former inhabitants. An hundred houses and families have in some open field villages . . . dwindled to eight or ten . . . The landholders in most parishes that have been enclosed only 15 or 20 years, are very few in comparison of the numbers who occupied them in their open field state. It is no uncommon thing for 4 or 5 wealthy graziers to engross a large enclosed lordship which was before in the hands of 20 or 30 farmers, and as many smaller tenants and proprietors. All these are hereby thrown out of their living with their families and many other families who were chiefly employed and supported by them." It was not only the land that lay waste, but often land cultivated either in common or held under a definite rent paid to the community, that was annexed by the neighbouring landlords under pretence of enclosure. "I have here in view enclosures of open fields and lands already improved. It is acknowledged by even the writers in defence of enclosure that these diminished villages increase the monopolies of farms, raise the prices of provisions, and produce depopulation . . . and even the enclosure of waste lands (as now carried on) bears hard on the poor, by depriving them of a part of their subsistence, and only goes towards increasing farms already too large." "When," says Dr. Price, "this land gets into the hands of a few great farmers, the consequence must be that the little farmers" (earlier designated by him "a multitude of little proprietors and tenants, who maintain themselves and families by the produce of the ground they occupy by sheep kept on a common, by poultry, hogs, etc., and who therefore have little occasion to purchase any of the means of subsistence) "will be converted into a body of men who earn their subsistence by working for others, and who will be under a necessity of going to market for all they want . . . There will, perhaps, be more labour, because there will be more compulsion to it . . . Towns and manufacturers will increase, because more will be driven to them in quest of places and employment. This is the way in which the engrossing of farms naturally operates. And this is the way in which, for many years, it has been actually operating in this kingdom." He sums up the effect of enclosure thus: "Upon the whole, the circumstances of the lower ranks of men are altered in almost every respect for the worse. From little occupiers of land, they are reduced to the state of day-labourers and birellers; and, at the same time, their subsistence becomes more difficult." In fact, usurpation of the common lands and the revolution in agriculture accompanying this, told so acutely on the agricultural labourers that, even according to Eden, between 1765 and 1780, their wages began to fall below the minimum, and to be supplemented by official poor-law relief. Their wages, he says, "were not more than enough for the absolute necessities of life."

Evolution is Paul's panacea; revolution his bogey. Evolution has been the bugbear of the priest for half a century, but Paul embraces it. Continued evolution means capitalism continued, with possibilities for a priestly caste, consequently the proverbial "bull in a china shop" is not in it with the Rev. Bull among the revolutionaries. "The evolutionary Socialist is like the hen who lays an egg and provides the environment which will in due time enable the chicken to hatch out." "Revolutionary Social-

ism is like the foolish child who wants to break the egg before the chicken is ready." How blind these "evolutionists" always are to the revolution by which even their "chicken" must launch itself into its new existence!

Karl Marx needs no defenders, because he has not been attacked. To say that "he had the French Revolution on the brain" might pass for criticism with the feeble minded, but, after all, is only empty abuse. It is questionable whether the gentle follower of the "lowly Nazarene" is, quite sure of what he means by the "French Revolution." A close acquaintance with the works of Marx, especially "Das Kapital," would make his own puny efforts appear childish and insignificant; for, where he is not busy contradicting his previous statements, he does little more than separate ideas and persons into "good and bad" according to the opinions generated by his vocation.

As, for instance, when he says: "Socialists are doing bad work by the bitterness with which they preach the class-war." Shall they preach the class-war at all? He does not say. In what he does say, though, he admits the existence of the class-war, and if he was desirous of its speedy termination he would not help towards that end by trying to smother the knowledge of it.

I leave out of consideration whether the class-war should be preached with or without bitterness, or whether it is possible to preach any sort of war with "meekness and brotherly love" towards the enemy. Does the class-war exist? Emphatically yes, says the Christian exponent of "many different forms of Socialism." "There is no rational method of distributing the rewards of labour. It is left to the ruinous conflict between Capital and Labour, which inevitably breeds the bitterness of class-war, and strikes and lock-outs, etc." To sum up his conclusions, the capitalist system breeds a class war, but those who advocate its prosecution to a speedy termination are a bad lot.

The establishment of Socialism without class war and revolution is equally as impossible as hatching a chicken without breaking the shell, and the Rev. Bull, being anti-revolutionary, it follows that he is anti-Socialist. If he has completely failed to answer the question that forms the title of his pamphlet, he has at any rate succeeded in establishing his opposition to Socialism. His denunciations of the evils of capitalism are enhanced in value, because they now take the character of admissions by a capitalist defender. He might have made a thorough and energetic Socialist had his environment permitted—but regrets are useless and we can only take him as we find him. Illogical, superstitious, childish, and self-contradictory, yet with-all strong in his faith that the capitalist system "is pregnant with evils that corrupt and destroy every possibility of a decent and happy life for the mass of the people."

Written long before the European War, he might claim the following as prophecy equal to anything achieved by Blatchford, if the Defence of the Realm Act did not deter him from calling attention to it.

"So the silent, cruel, bloodless war of commerce goes on under this evil system of individualism and unrestrained competition, until the whole world is one armed camp, in which day by day twenty million men are being carefully trained to kill one another. As long as our social and commercial life is organised on the principle of unrestrained competition there can be only one ending—and that is universal war, as all nations fight for the markets of the world. It has not yet come to that because till now there has always been some outlet of energy, some undiscovered land, some new country to be developed. But now all lands are discovered, most markets have been seized, and each nation of Christian Europe must wait in the silence of awful preparation, gathering strength by inventions, by alliances, by diplomacy, by increase of army and navy till, by some swift act of cunning it can strike the first blow which shall destroy its adversary. Socialism can alone avert this universal war."

To those who claim that Socialism would destroy individuality this Clerical anti-Socialist replies most effectually, thus:

"For every one individual properly developed, thousands are crushed without a chance of developing their body, soul, or spirit. Thousands

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of the children of the poor are worse housed and fed than the dogs and horses of the rich. . . . How can men say that individualism develops individuality when English towns are miracles of soul-destroying monotony; thousands of acres of squalid slums, hundreds of miles of monotonous streets witnessing the fact that our present social system has killed the sense of the beautiful from the soul of our race, and turned out millions of machine-made men without any individuality at all."

Touching on unemployment he is equally emphatic:

"This pitiful tragedy of unemployment is not a temporary accident. It is of the very essence of our system. It is to the advantage of employers that there should be a fair margin of "unemployed," as this keeps wages down to the lowest possible point, and enables employers to count on plentiful recruits when they have to suppress a revolt or to expand work to meet a special emergency."

To sum up, capitalist economics like capitalist history is self-praise of the capitalist system, the eulogy of time-servers that prostitute their talents for a place in the sun. The workers, at any rate, can feel no pride in the victories and achievements of the ruling class, because their subjection has been the chief result. When they awake to this fact their antagonism to the ruling class will be real and deep. Class hatred is the natural outcome of the division of classes. The class that in its own interest endeavours to maintain a method of wealth distribution that no longer harmonises with the prevailing mode of production is at enmity with the rest of society—the working class. The workers cannot fight the system, their fight is with the class whose first principle is to maintain it.

When the history of to day comes to be written it will be a record of the vicissitudes of the working class in awaking to a consciousness of their slave position and establishing themselves in uncompromising hostility to their rulers. The class struggle must continue till the working class are victorious; there can be no cessation, because there are no reforms possible of application that can stay the worsening of working-class conditions, or lying defenders that can permanently confuse the workers and hinder their enlightenment.

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A BLOW FOR SOCIALISM

At a period when the space in our last issue was already allotted, there came to hand from the Socialist Labor Party of America, a letter addressed to "the Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau."

The fact that we are not one of the affiliated parties need not prevent us subjecting this very silly epistle, with all its wild claims and shallow assertions, to the test of Socialist criticism.

The general purpose of the letter we are criticising is to seize the opportunity provided by the wide spread discredit thrown upon Socialism by the pseudo Socialists of Europe for the purpose of attacking the confused and bewildered workers to the pseudo Socialism of America. In other words, it is a deliberate attempt to prevent the workers from seeing and understanding the real cause of the failure of working-class political organisation in the present crisis, and the break-down of the "International," in order that the workers shall turn their wearied eyes, not to class-conscious political action, but to that snare and delusion, Industrial Unionism, with its kibosh of "taking and holding" and "locking out the masters."

We are told that: "The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat, let alone accomplishing [sic] its emancipation." In a mass of vague statements and ambiguities this assertion and its implications are clear. If it means anything at all it means that a Socialist political party has been called upon to stand the test of the present crisis and has failed. Only thus could "the events in Europe" be a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism ... cannot be of real service to the proletariat." This implication is nothing but a sophism intended to discredit the class conscious political organisation of the workers—the reason for it we shall see presently.

The authors of the letter indicate who they regard as the "pure and simple political party of Socialism" when they say in an earlier passage, "the European Socialist movement—and that means largely the movement in Germany, France and Austria," and go on to talk of the "vast numbers which the movement in general in Europe enlisted under the banner of Socialism, the great vote cast in the various countries," and so forth. They leave no doubt at all that it is those gigantic parties on the Continent who take up a similar attitude to that adopted by the Labour Party in this country whom they hail as the "pure and simple political party of Social-

ism"—for no other purpose than to be able to claim that Socialist political organisation has failed.

Against such deliberate falsehood, such treacherous misrepresentation, we rise indignant to defend the Socialist position. We repudiate the implied statement that Socialist political organisation has failed. We claim, on the contrary, that in the only instance we know of where Socialist political organisation has been put to the test, it has emerged unshaken, unsullied, and triumphant.

What are the facts concerning the political organisation of the so-called "European Socialist Movement"? What is the true significance of the failure of the "vast numbers" and the "great vote" that movement attracted to itself to count as a force against the machinations of high anarchists who have drenched the lands and seas of the world with blood? These questions are easily answered.

The political organisation which has failed to stand the strain of recent events was not Socialist political organisation at all, and the significance of its failure is that working class political organisation is useless to the workers unless it is firmly grounded upon Socialist principles.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has always held that the essential principle upon which the political party of the working class must be based is the principle of the class struggle. The implications of this are several. The first is that only the class conscious may be admitted to membership in the organisation, since only those who are conscious of the working-class position in society can understand the class struggle, and only those who understand the class struggle can intelligently prosecute it on the political field.

The second implication of the principle of the class struggle is that the political party of the working class must be uncompromisingly hostile to all other parties, for the reason that political parties are the expression of class interests, and the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class.

We claim that only upon this basis of the class struggle is it possible for the "political party of Socialism" (to use the phrase of the S.P.O.A.) to be founded. Political organisation which is not based upon this principle, no matter by what name it goes or how many millions of votes it may succeed in capturing, if it pretends to be Socialist political organisation, is spurious and fraudulent.

Political organisation is not merely a matter of enrolled membership. It is much more than this. It is the organisation of the vote both inside and outside of the political organisation. While its strength for organising the vote to the ballot box lies in its organised membership, its strength for political conquest lies in its vote. It is through this vote that the class struggle is to be ultimately decided. But the vote is only an expression of opinion, and its only value lies in the opinion that it expresses.

The logic of this is clear enough. If it is important that the organised members of the "political party of Socialism" shall understand the working class position, it is equally important that the organised vote, upon which the political party must lean in its assault on the political supremacy of the master class, shall be the expression of opinion of class-conscious revolutionaries.

We are now at the root of the whole matter of the failure of the "European Socialist Movement" to take up and maintain the Socialist position in the recent crisis. These gigantic political organisations which disposed of so many millions of votes were not Socialist organisations. They were not founded upon the principle of the class struggle. They had not done the work of politically educating their supporters. They had not built up their strength upon an electorate understanding the working-class position and desiring revolution. These millions of so-called Socialist voters did not understand the class division in society, and did not, therefore, realise the unity of interest of the workers the world over, and the clash between the interests of the working class and the master class, at every point, nationally and internationally. Their votes had been attracted by all manner of nostrums and side-issues, and simply expressed opinions thereon, and not on the vital

matter of working-class emancipation.

That is how the matter stood at the time of the outbreak of the war. We had always foreseen that political organisation upon such a basis must fail the moment it should be put to the test, and that in the time of crisis it could only bring disaster upon the working-class movement. In innumerable articles in our official organ we have stated this clearly, and events have justified us to the full. The so-called Socialists did not understand the class struggle, with its clear call, "workers, unite!" They were of that school (to which the S.P.O.A. belong) who (here we quote the letter before us) "recognise the fact that the Socialists of Europe have been confronted with many problems which had to be solved before the real issue, Socialism versus Capitalism, could be decided." They lacked, indeed, every essential of the mental equipment necessary to enable them to take up the line of action which their interests demanded—in short, they were not Socialists.

Before proceeding further let us turn for a moment to another side of the matter. The S.P.O.A. claim in their letter that had their views been adopted "certain measures could have been taken at least to minimise that terrible catastrophe"; indeed, they go further, and say that they believe that, "had the various brother-parties listened to our voice and adopted our suggestions, the present catastrophe now crushing the proletariat, might—if it had happened at all—have been turned to the defeat of the capitalist class, the overthrow of this barbarous system, and caused the ushering in of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Industrial Republic of Labour."

The real significance of this extravagant claim is that the S.P.O.A. believe that the Co-operative Commonwealth can be established by an unclass-conscious proletariat—a point to be further dealt with.

We know that whether our teachings or those of the L.S.P.O.A. had been propagated in Europe the course of events as far as the war and its conduct are concerned would have been very much the same. It may be noted in how many ways the mentality of the Socialist Party differs from that of the quasi-Socialist Party, and how this difference is revealed at every turn. The S.P.O.A.'s lament is that the European "Socialist" Movement failed to prevent or moderate "this awful catastrophe"; our complaint is not this at all, for the reasons we have given. What we regret is the spectacle of what so many regard as the "great Socialist Movement" failing to make audible protest against the butchery of millions of the working class on the battlefield in capitalist interests. Nor is this all—these exploiters of our sacred cause have everywhere identified themselves with the war, and urged the workers to take up arms against their fellow wage slaves. To us this is the great injury inflicted upon the workers' cause because we know how much this great betrayal will impede the work of spreading class-consciousness among our fellow workers. Such education is not necessary in the minds of the S.P.O.A., hence they are not concerned with this point.

We now come back to the matter of the contempt of the S.P.O.A. for the class-conscious political organisation of the workers. They assert that "the correct form of the economic organisation (industrial unionism) is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." And what is this "industrial unionism"? The following quoted from the letter before us helps us here: "... no one man can represent the varied interests of the different industries which are found within a given territory." So industrial unionism, the undeveloped form of future society, is based, not upon the unity of the interest of all, but upon antagonism of interests by industries! It is quite clear that it is utterly hopeless to try to make this idea and class-consciousness—the very essence of which is the recognition of the unity of the class interest—run in harness together.

A moment's consideration will show how little justification any organisation can have for describing itself as a Socialist body, that holds that "industrial unionism is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." The idea is anti-social and anti-democratic. It is anarchistic to the very marrow. It is founded upon antago-

THE FORUM.

THE CONFUSION OF THE "CLARION"

"ECONOMISTS"

[To the Editor.]

Sir,—

Appropriating a series of articles by a gentleman of the name of Sathera, in "The Clarion," and also one or two other individuals of much the same way of thinking, all engaged in glorifying paper money as against actual coinage, I should like to have your opinion on one or two of the points raised.

The S.P.O.A. talk as if it were the only body claiming the Socialist title who realises the necessity for the workers to organise on the economic as well as on the political field. This is far from the truth. The S.P.G.B. has always maintained the need for economic organisation, but has ever insisted that such organisation must be on class lines, and must be thoroughly class-conscious. Granted these essentials, it is quite clear that Socialist political organisation must, in point of time, precede Socialist economic organisation. For both the political and the economic organisation must draw their adherents from the same general body of class-conscious workers, and the direction in which organisation can be maintained with the smallest number is the direction in which organisation will take place first. Economic organisation brings the workers into direct conflict with their employers, who hold their livelihood in their hands. It brings them also into direct conflict with the present trade unions. For these reasons it is sheer folly to talk about organising Socialists on the economic field until there are vast numbers of Socialists to organise, for the class-conscious few would be quickly starved out between the masters and their fellow workers.

How mad is the statement in the S.P.O.A. resolution to the Stuttgart Congress, that the "economic organisation of Labor" (and by that they mean industrial organisation) is "the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot"! Only the "take and hold" cranks, whose brain cannot get away from the idea that what is to be done on the day of the Revolution is to tip round to the workshop early and turn the key on the master, could harbour such a suggestion.

As a matter of fact it is just as conceivable that political organisation could provide the force with which to back up the ballot as that economic organisation could do so. There are innumerable instances of political organisations backing their objects with force, and in capitalist society the supreme force is politically controlled.

Economic organisation of the working class is necessary for other reasons than the shallow one set forth by the S.P.O.A. of A. It is necessary for the fighting of the workers' battle on the industrial field under capitalism; it is necessary for the maintenance of industrial order in the new-born Socialist Commonwealth. In order that it may perform the first function it must be organisation on a class basis; in order that it may perform the second function it must know nothing of any division of interest within itself, whether along the lines of crafts, industries, sex, nationalities, color, or whatnot. Obviously, then, Industrial Unionism cannot fill the bill.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain calls the attention of the workers of this and other lands to the fact that, founded as a political organisation upon Socialist principles, it has maintained the true working-class position in relation to the war without difficulty. We cannot boast of the support of millions of voters at the polls, but no one can point to a single word or deed of ours, in this time of crisis, which has been a betrayal of the cause of the proletariat. Well for Socialism, well for the stricken workers, well for the great cause of humanity, if, when the present riot of anarchy is over, and those who have to pay for it in blood and tears come to count the cost and apportion the blame, they realise that the political party of Socialism, weak though it was in numbers, was strong enough to denounce the war on all sides, strong enough to expose the misleaders of Labour and their purchased "patriotism," strong enough to avow and maintain, in the face of a frenzy of insane nationalism, the unity of interest of the workers of all countries, strong enough to remain Socialists and keep the flag of Socialism flying.

Now for another little matter. One of your writers observed some time ago that a rise in wages to the workers in a particular industry need not necessarily mean an increase in the cost of the articles produced. This does not seem to me to agree with the argument that commodities are exchanged (or sold) at their cost of production. On the face of it if this is so, a rise of 50 per cent. in the wages of the workers making boots, we'll say, would mean a rise of 50 per cent. in the cost of the boots. If this is not so, what becomes of the statement that articles exchange in the market at their cost of production?

10. Then as to the workers not paying rates

and taxes. How does this statement square with the fact that the workers are at present finding an extra slice to cover the cost of the European War, in the extra cost of beer, tea, etc. Wages have not risen to cover this increased cost. If they as a whole decided not to have the articles on which the extra tax is levied, where is the money to come from to pay for the war?

Hoping you will elucidate the above points. Yours, T. M. WALLACE.

1. The issue of coinage is completely under governmental control and is mainly carried on at the Mint on Tower Hill. Gold is the standard of currency and under the Mint Act anyone may take gold bullion, above a certain degree of fineness, to the Mint and have it assayed, melted, and coined into sovereigns and half sovereigns, free of charge. But the Mint—like the man who promised to marry the girl—"didn't say when," and one may have to wait a considerable time before receiving the coins in place of one's bullion.

The practical result of this is that no one outside the Bank of England ever takes gold to the Mint to be coined, but usually it is sold to the Bank, although the Bank price (£3 17s. 9d.) is lower than the Mint price (£3 17s. 10½d.) per ounce. Generally the time saved by cashing direct at the Bank compensates for the lower price.

Silver and copper coins are only tokens issued for convenience of change, especially in retail business, and are legal tender only up to £2 in silver and £s. in copper.

It must be understood that the Bank of England is a private concern like any other joint stock bank, although two facts in connection with it obscure this truth from many people. The first is that it transacts (at a splendid profit) all the financial business of the Government, such as Consol dividends, Treasury Bills, Loans, etc., giving many the impression that it is a gold standard.

5. Is it a fact that according to the Marxian theory commodities exchange on the average at their cost of production, coinage and all, and that when you purchase an article you simply exchange a coin containing so much socially necessary labour for an article containing the same amount?

6. According to the "Clarion" writers, if the only coinage in circulation was paper, everything would go on just the same—only more so—because the lending of money by bankers and financiers would at once come to an end, and the community would not have to pay out huge sums in interest for the use of money (gold coinage) which according to them does not exist.

7. What would regulate the issue of the paper money? For of course the powers-that-be would make a mess of things somewhat if they issued paper money *ad lib.* so that we all went about with our pockets full of bank notes.

8. I need not express my opinion on the economics of "Clarion" writers generally, but they seem to write very plausibly on this matter, and though I somehow feel convinced their reasoning is wrong, I can't quite see where it is. The idea of a paper currency does not seem to strike me as being feasible, although on the face of it, say, a town or borough wanted to erect a public building of some sort, and issued paper money to cover the cost, which was redeemed by the local governing body as the rates came in (*a la Jersey Market*), the necessity for borrowing money from financiers would be obviated and payment of interest avoided.

9. Now for another little matter. One of your writers observed some time ago that a rise in wages to the workers in a particular industry need not necessarily mean an increase in the cost of the articles produced. This does not seem to me to agree with the argument that commodities are exchanged (or sold) at their cost of production. On the face of it if this is so, a rise of 50 per cent. in the wages of the workers making boots, we'll say, would mean a rise of 50 per cent. in the cost of the boots. If this is not so, what becomes of the statement that articles exchange in the market at their cost of production?

10. Then as to the workers not paying rates

and taxes. In times of great crisis this Act has been suspended, as in 1847, 1857, and 1866, and the Bank has been allowed to issue notes without any gold backing, but apart from these occasions, the Bank Note issue is regulated as

BANK OF ENGLAND WEEKLY ACCOUNT.		
10th Feb., 1915.		
£	£	£
Notes issued	8,152,975	Govt. Debt
		11,015,100
		Other securities
		7,131,900
		Gold coin
		and bullion
Total	8,152,975	Total
		8,152,975

above.

3. As Marx clearly shows, the purchasing-power of a metallic medium of exchange only tends to pass at its value where international trade and exchanges take place. Inside a national or a local boundary, under certain conditions, a medium of exchange may circulate indefinitely at a face value far above its real value. The silver coinage of the countries in the "Latin Union" are a big example of this fact. In this country the sovereign does actually circulate at its value, but the silver and copper tokens circulate at a face value much above their real value.

Obviously there is no such thing as "paper money coinage." Paper money or paper currency falls into two main divisions—"convertible" and "inconvertible." The "inconvertible" circulates at a price entirely dependent upon the credit of the government issuing it, and its consideration need not detain us here. "Convertible" paper is that paper for which gold (or silver in silver currency countries) can be obtained upon demand at the government's bank. Its face value will therefore vary with the change in the value of the metal it is convertible into, and as silver fluctuates more than gold, its paper representative will vary more than the latter's.

4. Paper money has certainly not superseded

"the use of gold coinage" to day, as a large amount of gold still circulates here. What has happened is that the notes have replaced portion of the gold previously circulating here. The "gold standard" not only remains, but any or all of these notes can be presented at the Bank of England and gold demanded for them, though Lloyd George expressed the hope that they would not be presented and so far his hope has been realised. The total amount of the notes outstanding on February 10th, 1915, was £36,102,858 and it is quite possible that gold could be paid in full for every one of these notes.

5. Apart from certain technical modifications to the statement, the Marxian analysis is as stated by our correspondent. The point of coinage is already dealt with in answer to No. 3.

6. Seeing that Bankers and Financiers charge the same interest on notes as on gold when making a loan, the absurdity of the claim of the "Clarion" writers is clearly seen.

7. If the writers on the "Clarion" had their way—No! the way of the currency crank they follow, A. Kitson—it is probable that it would be widespread bankruptcy that would "regulate" their issue of paper money. Their schemes have been tried in the past with disaster to those who adopted them.

8. The "Guernsey Market Hall" is the great stalking horse of the paper money idiots. It baffles them by its very simplicity and obviousness, whilst its greatest significance is—that it has never been repeated even in Guernsey. If the inhabitants of a town wish certain works to be done, they may either (a) employ people to do it, or (b) do it themselves. It is solely a question of economy and efficiency in attaining the result. In almost every case it is cheaper and better to "pool" the expense and let those with a knowledge of the particular business carry it out. In the Guernsey case building operatives were employed and paid with notes on the Guernsey Council. The local tradesmen agreed to take these notes in exchange for commodities, and the Council took them from the tradesmen as payment for rates. Obviously, if a workman wished to leave Guernsey even for a day or two—the notes were useless to him as they would only exchange in Guernsey. Secondly, the tradesmen clearly could only pay part of their rates by the notes as the other municipal expenses were still running on the ordinary lines. Moreover, he could not pay his merchants with them, and as he received them every week and only paid them back once a quarter or half year, it meant his money was lying idle and losing interest during that period.

Evidently they came to the conclusion that it was better from their business standpoint to borrow money in the future than to repeat the experiment; for it has to be remembered that all these things happen under capitalism, where profit is the great god. In other words, the

"payment of interest" was not actually avoided, it was only borne in another way.

9. Here our correspondent is mixing up wages with cost of production. The whole question is as clearly and splendidly dealt with by Marx in his "Value, Price and Profit" that the questioner is referred to that pamphlet for reply.

10. Again a confusion exists here between price and tax. It is assumed that prices are determined by taxes, which, in reality, are the smallest factors in the whole sum. This is shown with great clearness by the fact that other commodities—as bread, meat, coal, etc.—have, without any tax at all, risen far higher than beer or tea! Wages only rise when the supply of labour-power is short compared to the demand, or when the workers struggle to force them up. Of course every struggle is not successful. Prices may rise for some time before wages follow, but the essential point is that the rise of prices is affected by two chief factors (1) increase in cost of production, (2) reduction of competition either by shortage of supply or elimination of some of the competitors, as shown in the recent rise in shipping rates. Taxes may sometimes be another factor, though, as said above, it is in general the smallest of all.

J. F.

THE TROUBLES OF A "MARXIAN STUDENT."

To the Editor.

Sir,—

As a student of Marxian economics, it is rather disconcerting to find a serious difference of opinion among many prominent Marxists, regarding a vital part of Marx's theories.

The first point about which the controversy revolves, is the part played by merchants' capital and the workers engaged in the sphere of circulation. Let us take the well-known American Marxian student, Ernest Untermann, as typical of one side of the case.

In his book, "Marxian Economics," he lays down the following position. Value is only produced in the process of production and transportation. Any labour expended in the circulation of commodities, even though socially necessary, is unproductive, not only of use value, (as is obvious), but also of exchange-value. To quote from "Marxian Economics," page 192:

"The quicker a capitalist can sell his commodities, the sooner he will reproduce his capital and pocket his profits. But the selling of commodities requires time and expenses. If the manufacturing capitalist wants to be his own merchant and sell his own commodities, he must have a special department in his establishment attending to the sales. For this purpose he must invest a large portion of his capital unproductively and tie it up in the sales department. Whatever he has tied up in this fashion he cannot invest as productive capital. It will not produce any surplus-value. It is a dead expense to him. The labour of the wage workers in the sales department is also unproductive from the point of view of society, because it does not produce any new values, but only assists in the circulation of already existing values. Of course, the labour of these wage workers is socially necessary, because the product must be sold before the capitalist can recover its value. But it is unproductive labour and belongs to the dead expense of social production."

From this proposition, which he says is the position taken up by Marx in the second and third volumes of "Capital," it follows that the profits of the capitalist engaged in the circulation process, are derived from the surplus value which originates in production. This Untermann declares to be the case; he says (page 194): "One way of getting rid quickly of his newly produced commodities is to sell them to somebody who will undertake the risk of buying and selling, without going into the sphere of production. In this way, a division of labour arises between the industrial capitalist, who confines himself to the sphere of production, and the merchant capitalist, who operates wholly in the sphere of circulation But it is evident that the merchant capitalist, who undertakes the risk of circulating the products of the industrial capitalist, will not do so for pleasure, but will exact a certain reward from the indus-

trial capitalist for his risk. In other words, the industrial capitalist must sell his commodities to the merchant capitalist at a lower figure than he would ask if he sold them himself. He must yield up a portion of his profits to the merchant."

Now it would seem that, if the workers engaged in the process of circulation create no new values they are not exploited. This Untermann denies, for he says (page 192): "So far as the relation of these wage workers to the capitalist is concerned, he pays only for their labour-power, not for the time that he employs them To that extent the wage workers in the department of circulation are exploited like the wage workers in the department of production. But they do not produce any surplus-value for the capitalist. They merely save some of the already produced surplus-value for him in proportion as they work longer than they are paid for, and thus sell more commodities and help to realise more of the already existing surplus-value for him than he could realise if they worked shorter hours."

To me this is a most absurd statement for a Marxist to make; for how can a labourer work longer than he is paid for if he creates no value? Again he states on page 108: "The merchant has invested a certain amount of money-capital in a store, equipment, and wage labourers (clerks, salesmen, etc.) These wage labourers are unproductive like the merchant himself, although they work for him a longer time than he pays for. But their surplus labour is as unproductive as the capital of the merchant. They merely realise the surplus-value for the merchant, which was produced in the sphere of production, and make profits for him so much quicker, the more their unproductive surplus-labour is extended and their necessary labour shortened," to which I would retort, what is there to distinguish between their surplus and their necessary labour if the workers can never produce the equivalent of their wages, or reproduce for the capitalist the variable capital he has invested in their labour-power?

Untermann is supported in his interpretation of Marx's theory of circulation by Louis B. Boudin. Two quotations from his work, "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx," must suffice. On page 70 he says: "The division of the surplus-value takes place in the circulation process, and expresses itself in the different prices at which the commodity is sold at the different stages of this process," and again on page 130: "The price of production at which commodities are sold at a certain stage of their existence is always below their value; and the capitalists engaged in the circulation of commodities exclusively, the merchants, get as profits on their capitals surplus-value not produced by them but merely realised by them. The capitalists who produced this surplus-value are forced to divide up with them by the very economic conditions which permit them to retain their own proportionate share."

Karl Kautsky also appears to hold the same views, for in his pamphlet, "The Capitalist Class," we find on page 5: "The owners of industrial capital, however, obtain their profit by exploiting the propertyless wage workers. But as the capitalist mode of production develops, so industrial capital gains the ascendancy over other kinds of capital, and subjects these to its service, as we have seen. This, however, is possible only by assigning to merchants' and users' capital part of the surplus-value wrung from the wage workers." Now, it appears to me that if this view is correct, quite a large proportion of the proletariat of a capitalist country are not exploited, notwithstanding the statements of Untermann to the contrary.

Before we examine the case of the Marxists who oppose the above construction of Marx's economics, let us first see what Marx himself has to say about the matter in the first volume of "Capital." On page 570 (English edition) we find: "The capitalist who produces surplus-value—i.e., who extracts unpaid labour directly from the labourers, and fixes it in commodities, is, indeed, the first appropriator, but by no means the ultimate owner, of this surplus-value. He has to share it with capitalists, with landowners, &c., who fulfil other functions in the complex of social production. Surplus-value, therefore, splits up into various parts. Its fragments fall to various categories of persons, and take various forms, independent of the one o

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the other, such as profit, interest, merchants' profits, rent, &c. It is only in Book III. that we can take in hand these modified forms of surplus-value." Here Marx appears to hold the view which Untermann says he develops in the second and third volumes.

Whenever I have been in a discussion with fellow-Socialists, and this matter has been brought up, I have usually found that a totally different view is held by many of those present. They hold that the labour of clerks, warehousemen, etc., adds to the value of the commodities which they handle, and that the profit of the merchant is derived from the surplus-value created by his employees in the same manner as the profit of the industrial capitalist. They point to the statement of Marx, that a schoolmaster, although he produces no material object or use-value, yet produces value and surplus-value, and thus is exploited by the proprietor of the school.

Here, then, are the two groups of Marxists, with the two theories; which is the true, which the false? Are the workers in a warehouse for instance or in an office exploited of the product of their labour? Is the profit of a merchant derived from the labour of his own employees, or from the labour of the employees of the industrial capitalist? If you can help me to arrive at a knowledge of the correct position on the problem herein discussed I, and I believe many other Socialist students will be grateful.—Yours fraternally,

R. W. Housley.

An examination of our correspondent's letter shows that, according to his own account, the "prominent Marxists" who have "a serious difference of opinion" consist of Untermann, Boudin, Kautsky, and Marx on one side, and Mr. Housley with some "celebrated unknown" friends of his on the other.

Another point showing clearly through the letter is that Mr. Housley has completely failed to grasp the difference between the distribution of commodities and the circulation of capital. The former is a necessary social factor for consumption, and is treated by Marx in the second volume of "Capital" under the heading "Transport." The latter is the course or path taken by capital in realising surplus-value.

Obviously distribution of commodities is socially necessary before consumption can take place, and the energy employed thus counts as productive labour, producing both value and use-value. In this branch of production stores, warehouses, offices, elevators, etc. are necessary means of carrying on the business and count as means of production in the technical sense.

The path travelled in the circulation of capital may, however, vary enormously. To take one point only, a small capitalist may spend only a few shillings advertising in a local paper, while a huge concern may spend large sums on representatives in various parts of the world.

These expenses of snatching business from rivals are not themselves "productive" expenses, and must therefore be paid out of wealth turned out by the workers actually engaged in production. It is here that Mr. Housley finds himself in difficulties, for he says: "Now it would seem that if the workers engaged in the process of circulation create no new values they are not exploited." (Italics ours.) It is significant that Mr. Housley gives no reasons for this statement. Probably if he tried to reason the matter out he would find that he had wrapped up his conclusion in his premise by assuming that exploitation can only take place when new values are produced. This, of course, is absurd. Perhaps an illustration will make this clear.

A burglar is an "unproductive worker" as he only handles wealth already produced. When he takes the goods he burgles to the receiver he is certainly exploited by the latter—that is robbed of the wealth he has himself stolen.

So under capitalism. The industrial capitalist is the first appropriator of surplus-value. A portion of this surplus-value is used for the expenses of circulation. But in a business of modern type—that is on a large scale—whether the industrial capitalist runs the department himself or hands it over to another capitalist, the circulation is carried on, not by either of these capitalists, but by those they employ.

It should be clear to any student of Marx that the cost of this circulation department will have

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OUR ALLIES AND NEUTRALITY.

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It is a very strange thing how deeply the average worker of to day is concerned about the independence and neutrality of "Plucky Little Belgium." One would think to hear some of them talk, that it was the alpha and omega of this country, to protect the smaller and weaker States of the world from the continual encroachments of their larger and more powerful enemies. The capitalist Press is devoting much ink and paper in telling us that the present crisis into which we have been drawn, "to maintain our dignity and honour," is due to Germany's disregard for the neutrality and independence of Belgium, which had been guaranteed to them by treaty, and Lt. Gen. Imhoff, at Urania Hall, Berlin, is reported by the "Daily Call," of the 8th October, 1914, to have made the following remark: "Foreign policy + the expression of national egoism, consequently every treaty is worthless when national interests demand that they should be broken." This with reference to agreements signed by the capitalist governments of to-day (with which I shall deal later) hits the nail squarely on the head. He then went on to say that "necessity breaks even iron itself," and as one of the greatest necessities of the capitalist class is the extension of markets for the expansion of their trade, it is quite obvious why agreements signed one day are broken the next.

We are therefore called upon by our masters to down tools at once and fight for "freedom and democracy" against the tyrannous aggression of Belgium by the Kaiser and his hordes. Now before accepting the statement that England and her allies are fighting for freedom, it would be advisable to first of all examine a little of the past history of these "champions of the smaller States," to see how they have performed in this respect, in the past, before joining hands with them in the present.

We will then, in the first place, take the noble and liberty loving government of Russia, which in 1911, to show their love of freedom and independence of the smaller States, violently attacked Persia, in collusion with Great Britain, in spite of the fact that they were pledged by agreement signed in 1907, to maintain the independence and integrity of this small country. And her continued encroachments on the liberties of Finland from 1906 to 1911 was, of course, also due to her "desire to defend the smaller States."

France, another of our allies, has by her occupation of Fez, in 1911, overthrown the independence of Morocco, which, by the Act of Algeciras, she and other Powers pledged themselves to maintain.

Japan, another country with which England is allied, and which has promised to support them in maintaining the independence of Belgium, annexed Korea in 1911, thus violating the agreement of 1904, which was supposed to guarantee Korea's independence and integrity.

England, with her anxiety for the "independence" of the smaller States, could not be out of this "good work," so she absorbed with the aid of blood and fire the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics of South Africa in 1902. And even now while this war is still raging and while the hirelings of the allied Press are foaming with anger about the broken agreement of Belgium's neutrality by Germany, they themselves are losing no time in snatching colonies from the latter, quite irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants thereof.

And again, while England has repeatedly promised to evacuate Egypt, she has for more than thirty years continued to maintain her hold on that country, and has finally annexed it—of course, for the good of the Egyptians; and these are the countries which appear so troubled about the broken agreement concerning the independence and neutrality of Belgium.

No, dear reader, it is not the freedom of "Brave Little Belgium" that the allies are so anxious about, but the freedom of the capitalist class of England, France and Russia from the competition of their greatest rivals and pacemakers, the German capitalist class. A government like ours, which could not see its way clear to incorporate a 5s. per day minimum

OUR ANNUAL.

Don't forget our Annual Social and Dance, of which an advert. appears on the 3rd page.

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“Weekly People” (New York).
“Gaelic American” (New York).

“British Columbia Federationist” (Vancouver).
“Civil Service Socialist” (London).

“Freedom” (London).
“Cotton’s Weekly” (Canada).

“Appeal to Reason” (Kansas).

“International News Letter” (Berlin).

“The Western Clarion” (Vancouver).
“The Socialist” (Melbourne).

“Industrial Union News” (Detroit).

wage in the Miners’ Act 1912 does not suddenly become loaded with the burden of protecting the smaller States, at the expense of (according to “Reynolds,” 27th Oct., 1914) £39,000,000 per month.

De B. Gibbon, in the “Industrial History of England,” tells us that all the wars of the nineteenth century in which England was engaged were fought in the interests of commerce, and the wars of the present century appear to be pretty much the same.

Your enemy is here at home, as the enemy of the German working-class is in Germany, consequently we ask you to study the facts, and when you have analysed them with the same intelligence as you use in your daily toil, you will join with us in the great struggle, not for Belgium for the Belgians, nor Europe for the Europeans, but of the world for the workers.

H. BARNETT.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY**OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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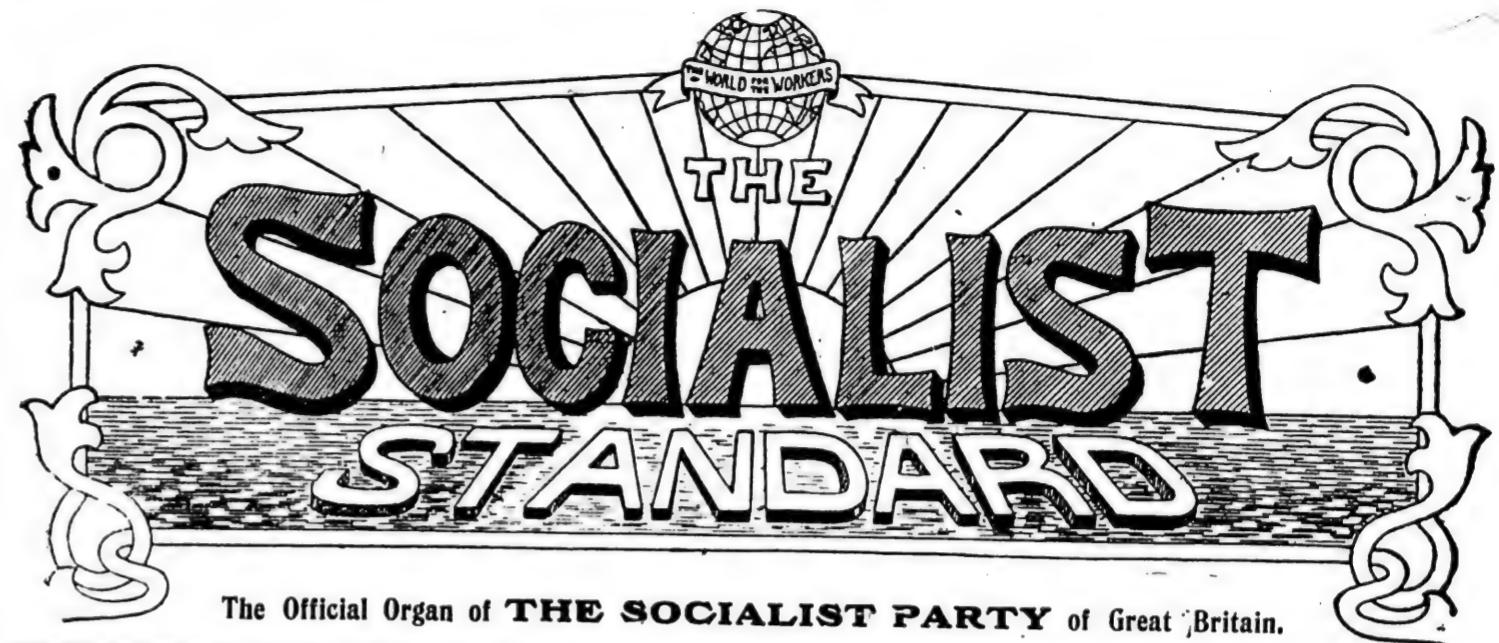
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain seizes the opportunity of its Annual Conference to endorse the action of the Party Executive with regard to the thieves' quarrel known as the European Crisis.

While the International Master Class—the only enemy of the Working Class—has almost succeeded in obscuring the greater war—the Class Struggle—this Conference affirms that the Party has maintained, and is maintaining, the Socialist position through the crucial period, and has clearly and boldly pushed forward on every possible occasion Working-Class interests as opposed to those of the Masters.

The flood of light resulting from Socialist knowledge shows clearly to the student how this war is but a logical result of the workings of Capitalism, and is being waged in the interests of the Master Class. The laboured and tortuous attempts to place the cause of the war on this, that or the other detail or side issue, are seen in their full futility when it is realised that it is impossible to have vast opposing interests operating within certain bounds without those interests, sooner or later, coming into conflict. In this conflict the Working Class have nothing to gain from the defeat or victory of any of the nations engaged. The lot of the Workers at the end of this war will be one of greater poverty, misery, and enslavement. THE SOCIALIST PARTY, therefore, unanimously opposes the war, as it unanimously opposes all capitalist machinations along with Capitalism itself.

In view, therefore, of the unanimity of the Party, this Conference makes the following pronouncement, and with fraternal greetings sends it out to the Workers of all lands:

Whereas the capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the question of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the Working Class of their respective countries in order to induce the said Workers to take up arms in what is solely their masters' quarrel, and

Whereas further, the pseudo-Socialists and labour "leaders" of this country, in common with their fellows on the Continent, have again betrayed the working-class position, either through their ignorance of it, their cowardice, or worse, and are assisting the Master Class to confuse the minds of the Workers and turn their attention from the Class Struggle,

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain reaffirms the Socialist position, which is as follows:

That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the Capitalist or Master Class, and the consequent enslavement of the Working Class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in Society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a *CLASS WAR*, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exist only to conserve the monopoly by the Capitalist Class of the wealth taken from the Workers.

These armed forces, therefore, will only be set in motion to further the interests of the class who control them—the Master Class—and as the Workers interests are not bound up in the struggle for markets wherein their masters may dispose of the wealth they have stolen from the workers, but in the struggle to end the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the present European struggle, which is already known as the "BUSINESS" War.

**WAGE WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE
BUT YOUR CHAINS, YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!—Marx**

A BIT TO GO ON WITH.

In our February issue appeared a pronouncement by the Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. under the heading : "Socialism and the European 'Socialists,'" in the course of which some reference was made to a circular sent out by the Socialist Labour Party of America. As usual, the S.P.G.B. Executive did not mince matters, and the result is that they have felt a jolt on the other side of the herring-pond. In the issue of the "Weekly People" (New York, the organ of the S.L.P. of A.) dated March 6th appears the following:

"The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain in an article on 'Socialism and the European Socialists,'—published in that party's official organ for February, 1915, disagrees with the Socialist Labour Party's declaration that a pure and simple Socialist political organisation cannot be of adequate service to the working class emancipation. The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain states its disagreement with our party in this language :

"We have before us at the moment a circular issued by the Socialist Labor Party of America in which they state : 'The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat . . .' This is another example of the opportunity the compromising policy of the pseudo-Socialists has provided for other enemies of class-conscious organisation. The statement is false. It is not for the reason that it is a 'pure and simple political party of Socialism' that the 'International Movement' has failed the workers in this crisis, but because its politics were impure. Its foundation had the cardinal fault which, among others, attaches to the pet obsession of the S.L.P.: it was not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle."

"It is amusing to be told in all seriousness that 'the cardinal fault' of the 'pet obsession' of the S.L.P. is that it is 'not grounded upon the principle of the Class Struggle.' We presume that this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. refers to the Socialist Labor Party's insistence upon revolutionary political and revolutionary industrial action when it mentions that 'pet obsession.' And such action, we are told, is not founded upon the principle of the Class Struggle! Well, perhaps this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. has its 'own' conception of the principle of the Class Struggle. That would be its own business, if it had. But in such case it should say that the 'pet obsession' of the S.L.P. is not founded upon its OWN [S.P.G.B.] principle of the Class Struggle." That would be nearer the mark.

"To say that the S.L.P. is an enemy of class conscious organisation, as the Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. does, is another of those weird statements that betray a twisted mind, unless, again, such a mind has its OWN conception of class conscious organisation. In that case both the conception and the mind would be twisted.

"But to say, as this Executive Committee does, that 'it is not for the reason that it is a 'pure and simple political party of Socialism' that the 'International Movement' has failed the workers in this crisis, but because its politics were impure' is to say that 'pure and simple' Socialist politics would have rescued the workers—which is pure rot. Pure and simple politics fail and always will fail the workers because they fail to attend to the ONE SOURCE OF POWER which the workers possess, the economic power, that is, the power which the workers daily have in their hands when they are in the workshops—the power over industry. Pure and simple Socialist politics, no matter how pure, neglect to attend [to] that vital power of the working class : to organise which would be a 'pet obsession,' and if there is anything that the S.P.G.B. hates, it hates to have a pet obsession.

"We are not of the class that call the policies of the continental European Socialists im-

pure. That their politics were not as revolutionary as they might have been is granted ; crudities existed ; but that can be explained and allowances made. That, however, is one thing, and impurity is another. Laughable indeed, though, is the principle of 'class struggle politics' and no physical power to back them up ; laughable indeed the purpose to take and hold the industries and no industrial organisation to do it! But then, perhaps the S.P.G.B. doesn't intend to take and hold the industries,—which again would indicate its own peculiar brand of 'Socialism.'

We have reproduced this windy attempt at humour for the specific purpose of showing how utterly unable the S.L.P. of A. are to erect any serious and adequate defence against the grave charge we brought against them in our February issue. It is more than barely probable that what we had to say about their bumptious circular in our March issue may lead the S.L.P. of A. to further windy efforts, so we need not waste a great deal of time and space upon the effusion already to hand. We desire, however, to point out that, so far, the S.L.P. of A. have offered nothing but a bare denial, together with a little ditch-watery sarcasm, to the charges we voiced against them, namely, that they are enemies of the class-conscious organisation of the workers, and that their "pet obsession" has not the Class Struggle foundation.

Of course, the S.L.P. of A. would retort that a denial was all that was called for by the assertion that they are enemies of the class-conscious organisation of the workers, and proceed upon unsound lines. They may claim that they are waiting for us to support our charges with arguments. In that case well and good—we have given them both opportunity and provocation in our March issue.

Now for the points in the S.L.P.'s first reply. They say that "they 'presume that this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. refers to the Socialist Labor Party's insistence upon revolution-

ary political and revolutionary industrial action when it mentions that 'pet obsession.'" The presumption is wrong. It was not ACTION we were talking about, but ORGANISATION. The S.L.P. may bawl and squall for "revolutionary action," but the action must necessarily partake of the nature of the organisation for the action. Our first business, therefore, was with the organisation onto which the S.L.P. are trying to switch the workers.

The "pet obsession" we were referring to is "Industrial Unionism," which (as is pointed out in our last issue) is not founded on the principle of the Class Struggle! Well, perhaps this Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. has its 'own' conception of the principle of the Class Struggle. That would be its own business, if it had. But in such case it should say that the 'pet obsession' of the S.L.P. is not founded upon its OWN [S.P.G.B.] principle of the Class Struggle." That would be nearer the mark.

The second point, that the S.L.P. of A. is an enemy of class-conscious organisation, is easily dealt with. Insomuch that they advocate organisation upon lines of industries they oppose organisation upon lines of class. The reflection of this is found in that realisation of their "pet obsession," the I.W.W. which is clearly not an organisation of class-conscious workers. If the S.L.P. has any other conception of class conscious organisation than that which begins and ends with the organisation of the class-conscious, let them save themselves with it now.

Our American opponents' remark anent our declaration that the "International Movement" failed the workers because its politics were impure is as shallow as the rest of their statements. Our assertion will not bear the interpretation which they try to put upon it, viz., that it is equal to saying that pure Socialist politics would have rescued the workers. The "International Movement" did not fail the workers in the sense of not preventing the war; for it was never in its power, whatever policy it adopted, to do so. It failed the workers in neglecting to take up the Socialist position in reference to the war, and it did this because its politics, its policy, and its organisation were not sound. The S.L.P. of A.'s circular itself says that the "European Comrades" became "enmeshed in bourgeois politics." This, from the Socialist standpoint, is impurity, and must always mean the betrayal of working-class interests.

A. E. J.

The receipt of this copy of our journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THE PROSTITUTE PRESS.

CAPITALISM has produced many vile institutions, but none more corrupt and degraded than the capitalist Press, by which the workers are systematically hoodwinked and led astray.

Whenever a section of the workers are goaded by the horrible conditions of their existence, into striking, the cheap and nasty Press lets itself go and pours out a perfect deluge of lies. If the men come out in accordance with the wishes of their trade union officials we are told that they have been led astray by demagogues and agitators ; if they strike against the wishes of their officials they are denounced for having thrown over their "responsible leaders" !

For example, on the occasion of the strike movement in South Africa last year, when nine of the strike leaders were deported without trial, that organ of light and truth, the "Morning Post," presented us with the following gems of editorial wisdom :

First editorial.

"Supposing that Ulster were pacified as Warsaw was pacified on a famous occasion, a legacy of hatred and resentment would be left behind that would sooner or later bring to ruin the new system of government. Force, the Liberals have always told us, is no remedy.

Certainly, the attempt to apply it to Ulster will lead to utter and perhaps irretrievable disaster."

Second editorial.

"The Union Government seem to have broken the back of the general strike in South Africa. . . Now, these are strong measures, but it is sometimes necessary to be cruel in order to be kind. General Botha was faced by the danger of a most dangerous and calamitous anarchy and he treated the case with the decision and energy of a soldier and a man of courage and character."

As the showman says : " You pays yer money and you takes yer choice."

But not only does the Press drug the workers' minds in the interest of the masters ; it also assists them to poison their bodies by bombing adulterated and unwholesome products. Who does not remember the "Standard Bread" craze that was so assiduously boomed by a section of the Press some time ago ? One might have thought that the sole concern of these newspapers was for the purity and wholesomeness of the people's bread, instead of which all the wheat sweepings which had been lying in the warehouses for years, and which are generally used for feeding cattle and pigs, were suddenly taken away—one can guess where they went to.

We Socialists have always contended that lying is the common character of the capitalist Press, and is not confined to the German section of it ; and our attitude is justified by our opponents. Even Lord Selborne, in a letter to the "Times," says :

"The Press Bureau consistently slurs over bad news and exaggerates good news. The Press lays every emphasis by poster, headline, and paragraph on that side of the war which is flattering to our pride. It keeps further in the background the news which is disagreeable to us, and the result is that our sense of proportion is being destroyed and that perspective is ceasing to exist. I could multiply instances of what I mean. Frequently, lately, we have seen the roll of casualties of some battles in Flanders amounting to two hundred, three hundred, four hundred men, or even to half a battalion. These casualties took place in February, January, or December, but who can recollect that at the time we received any impression of such loss by the news published ? The fact is that these casualties have usually occurred when we have lost a trench or a line of trenches, and the men holding them have been killed or made prisoners. A day or two after this had happened we were probably told that a trench which had been lost had been brilliantly recaptured, but we had never been previously told that we had lost the trench, and we were never told at the time what the loss of the trench or its recapture had cost us."

Here we have an admission by a leading light of the capitalist class that the people are deliberately being gulled by their penny and half-penny oracles.

When capitalist society is a thing of the past the Press will be run by the people themselves for its true purpose, viz., for the dissemination of news, and only then will it be free from the hypocrisy, lying, and cant that characterise it to day, because then there will be no capitalist interests to bolster up and no subject class to be kept in mental darkness. H. T. EDWARDS.

According to Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Harcourt, "forced labour for private profit amounts to slavery." This definition exactly describes the condition of the working class in every capitalist country, England included. For every worker being divorced from the means of life is forced to labour for the profit of some capitalist or capitalists.

So the workers in all capitalist lands were slaves before the war. How, then, can they be made slaves by the Germans? But their slavery can be intensified, it may be retorted. True, but not necessarily by reason of a change of masters. Conditions for the workers must intensify as a result of capitalist development, by the simple process of replacing men with machinery, and with women and children, thereby increasing the unemployed and furnishing the capitalists with the necessary power to reduce and to speed up their workers.

The economic whip, the spur of the "sack," is far more effective as a slave-ticker than was ever the lash of the ancient slave-driver. The capitalist has the experience of history behind him ; he goes by results, and knows that the wage slave, driven by the fear of hunger, is more effectively under his control, more amenable to discipline, and has less independence and spirit, than chattel-slaves and serfs. Duplicity and efficiency are the attributes of the slave, and the wage-slave possesses these in a fuller measure than slaves have ever possessed them all down the steps of time.

When society has once passed out of the stage of chattel-slavery, there can be no general return to it. Those trifling exceptions affecting comparatively small numbers in different parts of the world—such as peonage, indentured labour, and the forced labour of the Belgians who receive rations for work performed—these forms only go to show the similarity of conditions for those subjugated—a mere subsistence, under any form of slavery, including capitalism. It is impossible for the workers to be inflicted with something they already suffer. But can the war remove the infliction ?

One writer of some standing says : "Whatever the result, the world that will emerge when the deluge of blood has subsided will be a world that will be new and strange." But those who understand the system, who analysed it before the war and have seen the anarchy and greed of the capitalists, even while they were calling upon the workers to make sacrifices for them and their country—those who understand the nature of capitalism, expect no fundamental changes.

There will be, no doubt, delirious and fanatical expressions of joy, with, perhaps, a universal holiday—as when a king is crowned—on the proclamation of peace. But capitalism, with all its horrors, will remain to us. Miners will go down to their death in mines known to be dangerous ; workers in every town, sunk in poverty, will continue to breed consumption in reeking slums. The un-conscious workers will still be goaded by the wretchedness of their conditions to strike, and they will suffer all the penalties of daring to dispute with their masters. The confusionist will still be engaged poisoning the minds of the workers with every kind of superstition that can possibly keep them in ignorance and subjection. The outlook of the worker cannot change as the result of war ; while the philosophy of the capitalist—which begins and ends with profits—will remain the same in all the countries concerned. The workers of no country need fear to have slavery imposed upon them, for there is no form of slavery, tried or untried, that can mean deeper poverty, toil, and degradation for them.

The "better time that is coming" can only be the result of the workers' own efforts, after they have fought the class war to a finish. For this is the only war that concerns the working class—that can open up a new world for them. We, who understand this, continue the struggle even in the midst of national strife, because the quarrels of the capitalist rulers of the different countries—no matter how many millions of workers are involved—are as dust in the balance compared with the quarrel we have with the ruling class. We therefore call upon the workers of all lands to make an effort to understand Socialism, that they may be fully equipped for the last war—and their emancipation.

F. F.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions for the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standard,



THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1915.

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SACKCLOTH AND ASHES.

In the leading article of our last issue occurred the following:

"But the vote is only an expression of opinion, and its only value lies in the opinion that it expresses."

The sentence should have read: "But the vote is also an expression of opinion, and much of its value lies in the opinion that it expresses."

While the immediately preceding sentences render improbable any misunderstanding as to the function of a vote, it is important to correct at this, the earliest opportunity, this result of undue haste in going to press. Ed. Com.

OUR ELEVENTH CONFERENCE.

The 11th Annual Conference of the Socialist Party was held in circumstances unique in its history, the delegates meeting to review the work of a year in which the task of spreading Socialist knowledge has been greater, whilst the tendencies of the capitalist system of society have probably been made clearer, than ever before. It may be objected that the main tendencies of the capitalist mode of production and the present system of society have been quite well understood long before the outbreak of that system's latest horror. Let us explain, therefore, to whom those tendencies have been made clearer. It is to the apologists of modern civilisation, and to those who have been misled by those apologists.

The idealistic opponents of Socialism and the peace prophets who knew that no more great wars would be fought have had their lesson, which will serve also as a useful example for their colleagues who maintain that revolutions in society belong only to the past, and for those who would persuade themselves and others of capitalism's power to live for ever. In fact, had we less experience of our opponents, we might expect to hear from them in the future rather less about the stability and adaptability of the system of society that is responsible for—that demands as a condition of its continued and full development—the slaughter of its only useful units on the scale that has recently obtained. After all, there is a limit to human endurance, and the reaching of that limit by the working class is a powerful inducement to thought and action—those deadly enemies of working-class enslavement.

One of the most striking phenomena brought into prominence by the world-confliction now raging is the utter confusion existing among the

apologists of modern civilisation as to the cause of the war, its probable results, and economic phenomena in general. This confusion is of first-rate importance to the Socialist, and is brought out in greatest relief when compared with the clarity of vision and well-defined attitude of those workers who have understood the Socialist criticism of the existing régime. These latter are, admittedly, few, and the number of those who still follow the capitalist apologists many. But the confusion of these apologists grows always greater, and always the number of their working-class followers becomes smaller, with the increasingly difficult nature of the task before them—the defence of the existing order. And it is the every-day facts of proletarian existence that are responsible for that increased difficulty: the ever more hated, because ever greater, insecurity of employment, resulting from the introduction of more efficient machinery; the consequently tighter hold of the master class on the workers and greater strain on the latter in resisting their encroachments; and, last but not least in importance, the growing number of recorded failures of measures alleged by the dominant class and their "labour" hacks to have been aimed at the betterment of the conditions of working-class life.

The economic development, then, makes harder the task of those agencies which would support capitalism by attempting to show identity of interests between masters and workers, and by endeavouring to show an improvement in proletarian conditions of existence.

But the recognition on the part of the workers of the falsity of these claims; the increasing discontent at their own impoverishment and their master's enrichment: these alone do not indicate a remedy; do not not of themselves point out the path to freedom. More is necessary: a knowledge of the great generalisation that human society evolves, and that the existing social order will no more be the last than it was the first; the realisation that the proletariat is today the only class that fulfils a useful function in society; the recognition that the means of production have already reached a stage where their manipulation is capable of supplying fully the necessities of life for every member of society; and the understanding of the means by which the dominant class of to day maintains its ascendancy. The rise to power of the working class and the establishment of Socialism become possible only after the acquisition of this equipment, this knowledge of its own strength and of the prize to be won—to supply which equipment must be in large part the work of the Socialist Party.

And although, as stated, our Conference met this year in unique circumstances, to review the work carried on during a particularly difficult period, we are safe in recording that its determination to carry on that work is as firm as ever. This was shown by the enthusiasm of the delegates, their reports of our members' activities in so many directions, and the sales of our literature, particularly the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,

REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

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THE FORUM.

CLEANING UP BLATCHFORD'S MESS.

To the EDITOR.

Dear Sir,—I have just finished reading that famous book, "Britain for the British," and the only result obtained thereby is a rather confused idea of the true position of the inventor under Socialism. While I know that "R.B.'s" definition would only mean the handing over of the "spoils" to a new species of masters, I cannot quite see how it could be otherwise, if every worker received the *full* product of his toil. I will try and make my enquiry more clear. Should one hundred workers be required to produce a given amount of any commodity with the present kind of machinery, and eventually an inventor (or a worker) conceive the idea of a new machine which would produce the same amount of commodities with fifty workers, then it appears that the inventor should receive the wages of the dismissed fifty workers in order to obtain the *full* value of his toil, but if this be given, how about the idle workers in consequence thereof, and to whom would they have to look for their existence: the inventor or the employed fifty operators? This is providing the new machinery cost about the same as the old to produce or instal.—Wm. Searle.

The first point of confusion afflicting our correspondent is his notion, due, doubtless, to the misleading of "Britain for the British," that wages, payments, and conditions of employment will remain the same in essentials, though perhaps improved in some details, under Socialism, as they exist inside capitalism. When this notion is removed the answer becomes easy to follow.

To-day the workers cannot use the means of production without the permission of the master class, and this means that their lives are under the control of that class as, by withholding this permission, they can starve the workers to death—and often do so. Hence the workers, to-day, live by selling their power to perform certain operations in production or distribution of wealth to the masters. They are thus their slaves—thing Blatchford seems profoundly ignorant of.

Under Socialism the workers—then the whole community—will own the means of production, that is, the means of life, themselves. Slavery will have been abolished and consequently buying and selling of labour-power, and other commodities, will no longer exist, and wages will have vanished.

Leaving out the question of the impossibility of determining exactly the value of any individual's toil, the broader social needs would make it necessary to provide for future requirements by setting aside a certain amount of stock, such as seeds for next season's crops, animals for continuing breeding, and provision for contingencies such as floods, droughts, etc., so far as these could not be foreseen and dealt with. There would also be the providing for children and for the sick and the aged. It is thus clear that every worker could not receive the "full" product of his toil.

As, however, there would be abundance of comforts, and even luxuries of a kind, for all, this provision for social needs would mean no hardship for the producers.

And of what use would more of these things be to any individual? To-day the possession of wealth means the opportunity to exploit others. Under Socialism, where exploitation no longer existed, it would merely mean surrounding one's self with encumbrances. The inventor who, under such conditions, wanted to claim the "full" result of his invention, would therefore merely desire to surround himself with useless lumber, a philosophy lower even than that of the pig.

Moreover, there is the question of how much is exactly due to any one inventor, and how much he owes to others. Ideas are social, and there has hardly been an invention or discovery without its various claimants to have each been "first." Newton's discovery of the greatest of all physical laws—the Law of Gravitation—would have been impossible without Kepler's great work and inductions, that in their turn

owed much to Tycho Brahe and his predecessors. Adams and Leverrier each independently worked out the position of the planet Neptune. Darwin and Wallace independently formulated the theory of the "Origin of Species," while Spencer pathetically points out how near he came to the same conclusion without actually stating it. Marx, Engels, and L. H. Morgan independently, and from different standpoints, discovered the laws of the "Materialistic Conception of History." In things mechanical Watt merely adopted Newcomen's atmospheric engine for his mine pumps and did not suddenly conceive the whole mechanism from watching a kettle boil—as the pretty nursery tales tell us. Arkwright took, practically, the whole of his "invention" from Paul Kay, while thousands of inventors of detail improvements in machinery and processes have not even had their names recorded. The classic instance is that of the essential process in making steel by the Bessemer system. The process was suggested by a workman whose name even is not known.

To take things modern, in the "Daily Telegraph" for 1st March, 1915 is an article on "Great Inventions," wherein it is pointed out that "Wireless Telegraphy," associated in the popular mind solely with Marconi, was due to the mathematical work of Clark Maxwell and the scientific experiments of Hertz on electro-magnetic waves, now known as "Hertzian waves," and of which a practical demonstration was given by Sir Oliver Lodge in 1894—two years before Marconi's provisional specification was filed. Again the success of the Wright brothers in mechanical flight was based upon the researches and experiments of S. P. Langley, "the head of the most prominent scientific institution of America," (The Smithsonian Institute), particularly those he carried out on the Potomac River.

We thus see how little is generally due to the individual claiming to have "invented" some machine or process. Nor is this all. Under capitalism the inventor, if a poor man, is almost sure to have his invention stolen from him by the capitalists. Under Socialism he would receive the approbation of his fellow men for his contribution to the good of society—a factor that will be much more highly prized then, when the means of life are under our control, than it can possibly be in the midst of our present sordid relationships. And if the invention reduced labour time in any industry to a large extent it would mean not fifty men thrown out of work but such proportionate reduction in the hours of social work as the circumstances would show to be best, which reduction would benefit the inventor as well as the others. The pleasure an inventor experiences in having his efforts crowned with success is another factor in his reward.

There remains one other point often brought forward by our would-be opponents, though it will have no existence under Socialism. This point is "suppose the inventor refuses to let you use his invention unless you accept his terms, what will you do then?" The answer of course is quite simple. Firstly, as shown above, he would soon have rivals in his particular field, and so would lose his power even to withhold his invention from society. Secondly, society could quite serenely ignore his conditions and continue in their old way till he became more sensible.

However, this situation will not arise under Socialism as it will be to every member's interest to improve the powers of production so as to enjoy the increased leisure resulting; and in all other ways the question of the inventor will present no difficulties under Socialism.

Ed. Com.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. W. EVANS (Bermondsey). As you have seen from the case of the critic of "F.F.S." article, our columns are open to those of our opponents who wish to oppose us. The question of a debate in our columns is entirely different, and such a suggestion could only be considered upon its merits. It is time enough for us to consider an application for space for a debate when the application reaches us, but, frankly, we cannot encourage the hope that the subject you mention would commend itself to us as of sufficient pertinence to warrant us devoting space to it.

clansmen, who for centuries had shed their blood for her family. The whole of the stolen clan-land she divided into 21 great sheep farms, each inhabited by a single family, for the most part imported English farm-servants. In the year 1835 the 15,000 Gaels were already replaced by 131,000 sheep. The remnant of the aborigines flung on the sea-shore, tried to live by catching fish. They became amphibious and lived, as an English author says, half on land and half on water, and with only half on both.

But the brave Gaels must expiate yet more bitterly their idolatry, romantic and of the mountains, for the "great men" of the clan. The smell of their fish rose to the noses of the great men. They scented some profit in it, and let the sea-shore to the great fishmongers of London. For the second time the Gaels were hunted out.

But finally, part of the sheep-walks are turned into deer preserves. Every one knows that there are no real forests in England. The deer in the parks of the great are demurely domestic cattle, fat as London aldermen. Scotland is therefore the last refuge of the "noble passion."

"In the Highlands," says Somers in 1848, "new forests are springing up like mushrooms. Here, on one side of Gaick, you have the new forest of Glenfeshie; and there on the other you have the new forest of Ardverikie. In the same line you have the Black Mount, an immense waste also recently erected. From east to west—from the neighbourhood of Aberdeen to the crags of Oban—you have now a continuous line of forests; while in other parts of the Highlands there are the new forests of Loch Archaig, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, &c. Sheep were introduced into glens which had been the seats of communities of small farmers; and the latter were driven to seek subsistence on coarser and more sterile tracts of soil. Now deer are supplanting sheep; and these are once more dispossessing the small tenants, who will necessarily be driven down upon still coarser land and to more grinding penury. Deer forests and the people cannot co-exist. One or other of the two must yield. Let the forests be increased in number and extent during the next quarter of a century, as they have been in the last, and the Gaels will perish from their native soil.

This movement among the Highland proprietors is with some a matter of ambition . . . with some love of sport . . . while others, of a more practical cast, follow the trade in deer with an eye solely to profit. For it is a fact, that a mountain range laid out in forest is, in many cases, more profitable to the proprietor than when let as a sheep walk . . . The huntsman who wants a deer-forest limits his offers by no other calculation than the extent of his purse. . . . Sufferings have been inflicted in the Highlands scarcely less severe than those occasioned by the policy of the Norman kings. Deer have received extended ranges, while men have been hunted within a narrower and still narrower circle . . . One after one the liberties of the people have been cloven down . . . And the oppressions are daily on the increase . . . The clearance and dispersion of the people is pursued by the proprietors as a settled principle, as an agricultural necessity, just as trees and brushwood are cleared from the wastes of America or Australia; and the operation goes on in a quiet, business-like way, &c."

The spoliation of the church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation. They conquered the field for capitalist agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a "free" and outlawed proletariat.

BLOODY LEGISLATION AGAINST THE EXPROPRIATED FROM THE END OF THE 15th CENTURY, FORCING DOWN WAGES BY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

The proletariat created by the breaking up of the bands of feudal serfs and by the

forcible expropriation of the people from the soil, this "free" proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world. On the other hand, these men, suddenly dragged from their wonted mode of life, could not as suddenly adapt themselves to the discipline of their new condition. They were turned *en masse* into boggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances. Hence at the end of the 15th and during the whole of the 16th century, throughout Western Europe a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The fathers of the present working class were chastised for their enforced transformation into vagabonds and paupers. Legislation treated them as "voluntary" criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own goodwill to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed.

In England this legislation began under Henry VII.

Henry VIII. 1530: Beggars old and unable to work receive a beggar's licence. On the other hand, whipping and imprisonment for sturdy vagabonds. They are to be tied to the cartail and whipped until the blood streams from their bodies, then to swear an oath to go back to their birthplace or to where they have lived the last three years, and to "put themselves to labour." What grim irony! In 27 Henry VIII. the former statute is repeated, but strengthened with new clauses. For the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping is to be repeated and half the ear sliced off; but for the third relapse the offender is to be executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the common weal.

Edward VI.: A statute of the first year of his reign, 1547, ordains that if anyone refuses to work, he shall be condemned as a slave to the person who has denounced him as an idler. The master shall feed his slave on bread and water, weak broth and such refuse meat as he thinks fit. He has the right to force him to do any work, no matter how disgusting, with whip and chains. If the slave is absent a fortnight, he is condemned to slavery for life and is to be branded on forehead or back with the letter S; if he runs away thrice, he is to be executed as a felon. The master can sell him, bequeath him, let him out on hire as a slave, just as any other personal chattel or cattle. If the slaves attempt anything against the masters, they are also to be executed. Justices of the peace, on information, are to hunt the rascals down. If it happens that a vagabond has been idling about for three days, he is to be taken to his birthplace, branded with a redhot iron with the letter V on the breast and be set to work, in chains, in the streets or at some other labour. If the vagabond gives a false birthplace, he is then to become the slave for life of this place, of its inhabitants, or its corporation, and to be branded with an S. All persons have the right to take away the children of the vagabonds and to keep them as apprentices, the young men until the 24th year, the girls until the 20th. If they run away, they are to become up to this age the slaves of their masters, who can put them in irons, whip them, &c., if they like. Every master may put an iron ring round the neck, arms or legs of his slave, by which to know him more easily and to be more certain of him. The last part of this statute provides, that certain poor people may be employed by a place or by persons, who are willing to give them food and drink and to find them work. This kind of parish-slaves was kept up in England until far into the 19th century under the name of "roundsmen."

Elizabeth, 1572: Unlicensed beggars above 14 years of age are to be severely flogged and branded on the left ear unless some one will take them into service for two years; in case of a repetition of the offence, if they are over 18, they are to be executed, unless some one will take them into service for two years; but for the third offence they are to be executed without mercy as felons. Similar statutes: 18 Elizabeth, c. 13, and another of 1597.

James I.: Any one wandering about and bagging is declared a rogue and a vagabond. Justices of the peace in petty sessions are authorised to have them publicly whipped and for the first offence to imprison them for 6 months, for the second for 2 years. Whilst in prison they are to be whipped as much and as

often as the justices of the peace think fit . . . incorrigible and dangerous rogues are to be branded with an R on the left shoulder and set to hard labour, and if they are caught bagging again, to be executed without mercy. These statutes, legally binding until the beginning of the 18th century, were only repealed by 12 Ann, c. 23.

Similar laws in France, whereby the middle of the 17th century a kingdom of vagabonds (trouauds) was established in Paris. Even at the beginning of Louis XVI.'s reign (Ordinance of July 13th, 1777) every man in good health from 16 to 80 years of age, if without visible means of subsistence and not practising a trade, is to be sent to the galley. Of the same nature are the statutes of Charles V. for the Netherlands (October, 1537), the first edict of the States and Towns of Holland (March 10, 1614), the "Plaakaat" of the United Provinces (June 26, 1649),

thus were the agricultural people, first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system.

(To be Continued.)

GRIST FOR THE MILL.

Speaking in Wales on the 29th Sept. last at a national Welsh conference for the purpose of assisting in the formation of a Welsh army corps, Mr. Lloyd George, known to fame as the "Welsh Christ," set forth, in his usual cold-blooded, calculating manner, the ideal method to pursue in order to obtain as many poor simple-minded targets for bullets as possible. This capitalist hack might have been expected to play upon the emotions of young men in the most efficacious manner. He said:

"After all conviction is essential to confidence and courage in nine parts of courage. And if we want valiant troops we must have men rallying to the flag imbued with the idea that they are going forth in a holy war to do battle for justice and right. They have to face wounds, dismay, death. More, they have got to face something which wears down the nerves and endurance of troops in war—they have the wet, cold nights in the trenches, day after day, night after night, and their courage must be sustained by a sense that they are fighting in a righteous cause. You must not have them asking at any stage, 'What on earth am I enlisting for?' (God forbid!) or, 'Why on earth should I stand it any longer?' When we enlist our men we must enlist them as a result of a campaign that puts conviction, first of all, into the heart of every soldier. This is most important. We have, first of all, got to rouse in them a sense of wrath against the injustice which has been inflicted by our foes in this war, and afterwards you will have to convert anger into action in every young man's breast."

(Manchester Guardian,) 30.9.14.

There you have, cut and dried, the plan of action to be taken by the masters. That this plan has been carried out since the commencement of the war by the papers, the posters, and public bodies generally, is known to everyone who has eyes to see. Is it any wonder that Lloyd George has risen (or descended) from an unknown Welsh lawyer to a Cabinet Minister? Such an unscrupulous and wily individual is a priceless treasure to the cut-throats who rule us. He further says:

"For this purpose (an effective army) you want to secure the best young men of the nation, the cream of the nation, the steady, sober-minded, intelligent young men. It takes less time to convert an intelligent youth into a soldier than a man of less acute intellect." —"Manchester Guardian," 30.9.14.

Then, no doubt, when the cream of the nation have gone, the future generation are to be bred from the narrow-chested, knock-kneed cripples that remain. Of course, there is one good side to it: a number of the workers are got out of the way to make room for the cheaper woman and child labour. Under the fervour of patriotism that has been inspired the introduction of

women can be more easily effected. To wind up we may quote the following:

"The vast majority return from a war to tell the tale (battalions wiped out by the bursting of a single shell!) and they will have accumulated experiences which will illumine their lives for ever after. Most people's lives are dull, grey, and monotonous, and these men will come back (?) with a fund of recollection to draw upon which should cheer and brighten their lives at the dreariest moment . . . I am glad that the War Office are recognising the value of this national sentiment as a military asset." —"Manchester Guardian," 30.9.14.

What hypocritical humbug! After reading the above (which was culled from an old newspaper) vision was called up in the mind of the present writer of an incident that occurred to him while travelling by train recently. At one of the stations a soldier, just back from the trenches, and his mother entered the carriage. The soldier, who was in a rather excited condition, recounted some of his experiences at the Front; the awful carnage, and the hunger and thirst they had suffered. He said they had lain in the trenches in filth for weeks without washing, starving, and drinking mud water, and when the latter failed, even their own urine to slake the awful thirst. He saw no hope of going through the war alive, and expected to be sent back to receive a bullet. His sleeping and waking dreams were of fighting and bloodshed; of seeing his mates' heads and bodies shattered, and trenches falling in smothering numbers of them. This man was, in fact, an instance of the soldier returned from war, a mental wreck as the result of the awful experiences he had gone through. And these are the experiences that the slimy Welshman depicts as "experiences that will illumine their lives for ever after"!!!

Words fail to convey the feeling of repugnance and nausea roused when one contemplates the mental attitude of this brutal and cold-blooded advocate of the master class, who defends the capitalists' rapacity with fine words, and attaches the glamour of religion to all their profit-seeking actions.

* * *

A "comrade," writing in "Justice" for Feb. 11th, 1915, says:

"Really, we Socialists have our time coming; our elementary principles have proved safe anchorage for the State lately, and with a fast accumulating hatred of War and militarism (!) that is surely taking place, the moment when our blow will be struck is nearer than many have appreciated."

Comment is surely needless! Still, it might be added that the "comrade" who holds the above views no doubt assists in the recruiting campaign as much as possible, so that when the time comes to strike—there will not be any working-men left to do the striking!

* * *

The shortness of working men's memories is proverbial. In spite of the bitter and strenuous enmity the masters always exhibit on the industrial field, the workers are ever ready to abandon the ground of the class struggle in order to help certain groups of capitalists to gain larger shares of the spoil (squeezed out of workers) than other groups. The workers on the Clyde struck the other day for an increase in wages to meet the rise in the cost of living. Along came the slimy minions of the master class and pointed out the harm that would be caused to the nation at this particular moment if they remained on strike. So back to work went the engineers like a lot of sheep.

When will the lessons of history be taken to heart? Forgotten are the struggles against the rapacity of the masters, the lives of poverty, the sight of wives and children dying of want, and all the other evils that are the necessary accompaniments of working-class "life" under capitalism; forgotten is all this when the masters wave a blood-stained banner and cry "For Life, for Law, for Liberty." Thousands of workers were mown down by the governing class after the French Revolution. Thousands of workers were wiped out after the Franco-Prussian War by the ruling class. Thousands of British

workers died of starvation and disease after the Boer War, both in England and South Africa. Every day, all the world over, hundreds of thousands of workers die through the greed and brutality of the master class and its minions, and yet, in spite of all this, we read in the daily papers (5.3.15) the following: "Early yesterday morning the coalheavers at a meeting of 2,000 strikers decided to return to work, postponing further efforts to regain their 'subbing' privileges until a more opportune time."

A more opportune time! When will that be? When the masters will be free to employ the whole unfettered force of the army to drive the workers back to work as they did in the recent Dock Strike, and at Manchester, Belfast, Dublin, Featherstone, Hull, etc.? "England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity," was the slogan of the early Home Rulers. And surely the only sensible maxim for workers, until they gain control of political power, is obviously: "The masters' extremity is the workers' opportunity."

* * *

And now, fellow workers, throwing all jokes aside, when are you going to stop the rot? When are you going to wake up and think? Remember, the day the labouring mass wakes itself into activity the capitalist world will totter to ruin.

FACTS AND PROMISES.

"It seems very clear," says the "Labour Leader" for February 11th, 1915, "that after the War the issue between Socialism and capitalism will be far more distinct than ever before." We are gratified to confess that, for once, we are somewhat in agreement with our learned contemporary, because, if the enlisting of the muddle-headed people of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. type continues at the present rate, owing to their anxiety to juggle with bullets and mud at the Front, the political air will certainly be cleared of a considerable amount of confusion.

* * *

The War offers splendid chances to the masters for purposes of increasing the efficiency of machinery and diminishing expenses all round for future as well as present benefit, without arousing unpleasant opposition from the workers. Everywhere the signs portend the advantage that is being taken of present circumstances. Speaking in Parliament the other day, Mr. Tennyson, Under Secretary for War, exuded the following:

"If I may address myself to the Labour Party, I would appeal to them to help us to organize the forces of Labour. I would ask them to help us so that where a man purposes to join the colours his place may be taken by another man neither of military age, nor military physique, or by a woman."

"Would it not be possible for the hon. gentlemen who represent labour to get such a Union as the Shop Assistants' Union to help us, in a trade where particularly women's work seems to be more desirable than men's, to say that all male labour, certainly all male workers of the age and physique required for the army should be dispensed with [nicer phrase than sacked!] and, by the way, remember Englishmen in this "free" country join the army of their own free will!] and should be replaced by women's labour? I don't say that this is a possible thing to do; I only throw out the suggestion tentatively." —"Reynolds," 14.2.15.

"Sir,—I am an old soldier, and served my country for two years in Africa. I am married and have a family of 7 children. On the outbreak of the War I rejoined the colours. My employers posted banditti all over the place offering 10s. a week to all married men who enlisted, and free house and coal, and our jobs back when we came home. But what happened after they found our fleet was too strong for the Germans and that Kitchener was going to get all the men he wanted or could equip, and that they were in no danger of losing their work? They suddenly stopped paying the 10s. a week; a little later they stopped the coals, and now they say soldiers' wives will have to pay house rent, and we are not in a position to guarantee your employment on your return."

And yet the British capitalist class through their Government entered this conflict on the pretext that Germany had refused to recognise the "scrap of paper" guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. This conduct is typical of the attitude of the master class toward those whom they trap into fighting their battles for them.

Some of those now doing the vile work of their paymasters on the Continent will return some day to the same conditions of slavery in factory hells and mines for just a subsistence wage, lucky indeed if they get that. The greatest of all wars will still continue, and maybe some of those now "somewhere in France" will then be engaged in a strike or lockout against the masters, probably to be shot down by their military comrades in the struggle for a miserable subsistence. This, then, will be the return for all the arduous toil and suffering of the trenches.

We urge the workers of all countries to organise as a class to gain control of the political machinery in order to establish the Socialist Commonwealth, whence shall arise happiness, comfort, and luxury for all. Speed the day! C.A.R.C.

PROVINCIAL PONDERINGS.

COMING EVENTS.

According to the leading article in the "Birmingham Daily Mail" of March 24th last, the end of the war "war will throw hundreds of thousands of men back on to the labour market to compete with those now at home for the declining employment. Those who, in the days of their present prosperity [!], put something by to meet the bad days that will surely come, may have cause to go down on their knees and thank God for giving them the foresight and the prudence but for which they might then come to grief under and their children wanting for bread."

"He had come with the authority of Lord Kitchener to tell them that the Government wanted more men, and amongst other places tey wanted them from the grocery shops. In London they were organising classes to teach women how to do the grocery trade."

In all branches of industry the men enlisted have been promised that their jobs will be kept open for them, and yet there is the significant admission in the leading article of this powerful provincial journal—an admission, be it marked, which is constantly appearing in some form or other in almost every newspaper throughout the country—that, instead of there being less unemployment, there will be severer competition than ever for employment after the war. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that women and girls are being employed in vastly increasing numbers to perform work formerly performed by men, foreshadows not only an undreamt of worsening of working class conditions, but also a depreciation of the workers' commodity, labour power, by the introduction of lower strata of wage-labour, which bids fair to become historic.

INTERESTING!

"It was a vicious argument that because the cost of living had increased wages must be advanced. If the people found the cost of living increasing they must economise. About the last thing in the world the working class would try to do was to economise." —Sec. Grocers' Federation.

MORE SO.

"My income is two thousand a year. It is inadequate." —Lieut. Lowther in the Court.

E. J.

PRESS PATRIOTISM.

The "Manchester Guardian," alluding in 1911 to the "settlement" of the railway strike, said:

"The danger is, perhaps, that they [i.e., the workers] should expect too much, and that the excitement of partial success should defeat it."

"This is of all countries the land of the most acute contrasts between wealth and poverty, not because poverty is absolute greater here than on the Continent, but because wealth is greater while certain forms of poverty are more massed and more hopeless. Apart from humane feeling, might it not be, IF WE UNDERSTOOD PATRIOTISM RIGHT, a legitimate concern of our national pride to wipe out this reproach upon the name of England?" (Emphatic mine.)

The powerful newspaper from which the above was extracted, in its issues of March 23 and 29, 1915, hinted—nay, more than hinted—suggested—that the Government should act as strike breaker in the following words:

"If the dockers at Liverpool or elsewhere will not do their work the community ought to bring substitutes from some other quarter or themselves do it by voluntary organisation. The community would, of course, afford complete protection to those who undertook the task." (29.3.15.)

Perhaps the "Guardian" writers do not understand patriotism aright, since they adopt to-day the attitude of "my country right or wrong must be seen through its wars and other amusements, even at the cost of Great Britain continuing to be the place where poverty is more massed and more hopeless than on the Continent." J. B.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
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BRANCH DIRECTORY.

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BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spiegel-st., Bull Ring, 11 a.m. 1st & 3rd Sundays.

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"Weekly People" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"Freedom" (London).

"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).

"International News Letter" (Berlin).

"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).

"The Socialist" (Melbourne).

"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

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OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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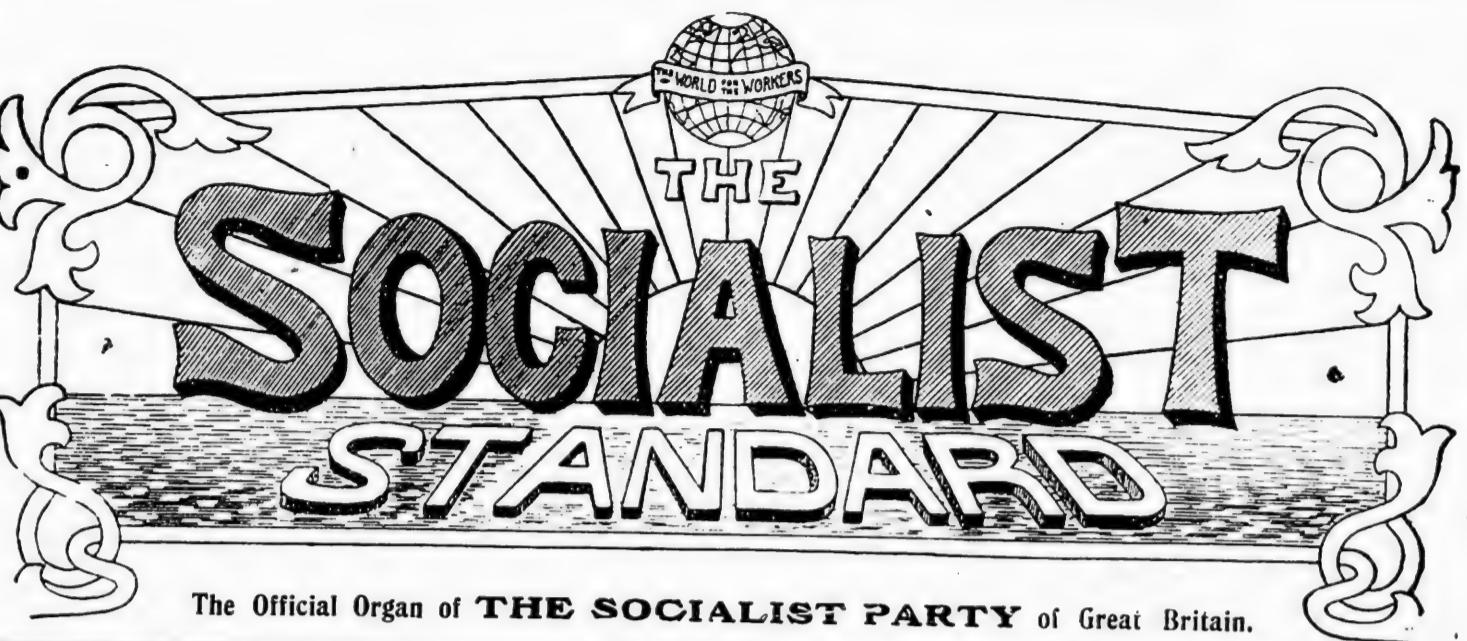
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

DRINKING AND SHIRKING.

CAPITLIST politicians of the Lloyd-Georgian type, that is to say, Liberal adventurers who have wriggled up out of the gutter by showing themselves the obsequious hacks of the capitalist class at large and of the manufacturing element of that class in particular, cannot get along very far, it seems, without heaping insults upon the heads of the working class. It is quite easy to understand why this is. It is the rich manufacturers, ship-owners, mine-owners, and the like who provide the party funds without which the Liberal party could not hold its own, and its purely professional and mercenary politicians would lose their incomes. As we are constantly stating, between the master class and the working class there is a conflict of interests. In the struggle generated of this clash of interests the hireling capitalist politician necessarily sides with his paymasters, and his assistance takes the form of filthy insult as often as not.

The particular form of abuse which is the rage and fashion at the moment is that of accusing the members of the working class of

DRINKING AND SHIRKING.

There is, of course, nothing new about the charge. It was worn threadbare long even before Mr. Philip Snowden (who waxes indignant now that Mr. Lloyd George agrees with him) referred to the "drink-sodden democracy." But the insulting charges are given a peculiar emphasis and a particularly sinister aspect just now. It is pretended that the workers are not only shirking their work, but are shirking a patriotic duty; and it is declared that the man who drinks in England is murdering the men in the trenches.

These are nice charges to be formulated by the agents of the class who have launched this wholesale butchery and who are not satisfied with the output of material and instruments for

MURDERING THE MEN IN THE TRENCHES.

It is easy to see through this campaign of calumny. The men in the trenches are being butchered. It is necessary to hide from them certain contributing factors. It is necessary to hide from them the fact that military experts, whose business it was to understand war, failed utterly to grasp the power, scope and requirements of the awful instruments of slaughter placed in their hands; it is necessary to hide from them the fact that, with the full knowledge of impending war, the Government dared not ask their parsimonious masters to face the cost of adequate preparation; it is necessary to hide from them the fact that the strikes among the producers of munitions and shipping are due to the same old cause as in the piping times of peace.

THE GREED OF THE MASTERS

and simply reflect the plain truth that no "call of patriotism," no "necessity of their country," and no consideration for the men in the trenches will ever induce the masters to loosen ever so little their grip upon their profits.

If "drink" is hampering British military operations why don't the capitalist class cease its manufacture? If the workers are not turning out sufficient munitions and fetching and carrying with the strenuous demanded by the dire straits of their masters' country, why don't the wealthy mumpers who are so fond of preaching of "patriotic duty" take a hand? When the workers leave off they leave the job open! Strange, isn't it, that though many among the master class are ready to forswear intoxicants in the

PRIVACY OF THEIR WINE CELLARS,

as an example to the workers, few attempt to come out into the light of day and show the workers how to WORK!

The Bishop of London says that he is ready to break stones if necessary, but he takes good care not to go down to the docks and handle pork. Of course it isn't necessary! It never is necessary for anybody to work but the working class, and they, as we all know, don't and won't.

The fact is that the present situation is proving the truth of what we have always contended—that in normal times the workers are speeded up to the point of exhaustion. The attempt to speed them up still more has not, therefore, met with the success hoped for by those who thought they saw in the war an opportunity to squeeze greater profits out of their slaves. It would never do for the masters to admit that their victims have in normal times no margin of energy left them which can be exploited under patriotic fervour, hence those who have supplied from their ranks two million men for the new army, and fully equipped them in eight months, besides carrying on the nation's work and maintaining an army in the field are, according to the sober and industrious parasite class, drinking and shirking.

IDEALISM AND MATERIALISM in the CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By PAUL LEFARGUE.

—o—

The following extract is taken from a lecture delivered by Paul Lefargue, under the auspices of the Group of Collectivist Students of Paris, this lecture being a reply to one given by Jean Jaurès on the above-named subject. The terms Idealism and Materialism are used here to designate the "two opposite views regarding the nature of human thought, that is to say, concerning the ultimate sources of intellectual cognition, concerning the origin of ideas," the former designating "the doctrine of innate ideas, of ideas *a priori*," and the latter "the doctrine of cognition through experience, through the senses, the doctrine of ideas *a posteriori*." (Heine).

MAN and the animals think only because they have a brain; the brain transforms sensations into ideas as dynamos convert into electricity the movement supplied to them. It is nature, or rather, the natural environment—not to use an expression that would idealise Nature as a metaphysical entity, as did the philosophers of the 18th century,—it is the natural environment that forms the brain and the other organs. I say intentionally the other organs because, just as the spiritualists separate man from the animal group in order to set him up as a miraculous being, for whom God comes on earth to be crucified, in the same way the idealists isolate the brain from the other organs in order to subject its function, that is to say thought, to magical causes.

The natural environment that created the organs and the brain of man has brought them to such a degree of perfection that they are capable of the most marvellous adaptations. Thus, for centuries Christians and civilised man carried off negroes from the coast of Africa to sell them as slaves in the colonies. These blacks were barbarians and savages, separated from civilised man by thousands of years of culture, and yet, at the end of an extremely short time they learnt the trades of civilisation.

In Paraguay the Jesuits had a social experience—the most remarkable known to me—which for us Socialists, is of first rate importance, because it shows what extraordinary rapidity a nation is transformed after being transplanted in a new social environment. The Jesuits, those incomparable educators, those learned exploiters of labour, formed with savages a civilised people of more than 150,000 individuals.

The Guarani whom they sequestered in the pueblos of Paraguay had wandered naked in the forests, their only arms, the bow and wooden club.

Their knowledge of agriculture being merely rudimentary, they cultivated only maize. So little developed was their intelligence that they could only count up to twenty, and still were obliged to count on their fingers. One finger was one, two fingers were two, one hand was five, one hand and a finger of the other hand were six, two hands were ten, two hands and a toe were eleven, two hands and a foot were fifteen, two hands and two feet were twenty; anything more was a great deal. It is always by using their fingers and their toes that the lowest savage count. Thus the figure, the most abstract idea that exists in the mind of the civilised, was at first, in the mind of the savage, the reflex of a material object. When we say or think 1, 2, 5, 10, we see no object at all; the savage sees a finger, two fingers, a hand, two hands! So true is this that the Roman figures, used by civilised peoples for so long, before the introduction of the Arabian figures, were shaped after the hand; I is one finger, II are two fingers, V are a hand, of which the three middle fingers are lowered while the thumb and the little finger are held up; X are two Vs or two hands reversed.

Of these Paraguayan savages the Jesuits made clever workmen, capable of executing the most difficult tasks. This is what Charlevoix says of them:

"The Indians of the Missions possess in the highest degree the faculty of imitation. It is enough, for example, to show them a cross, a candlestick, a censer, for them to reproduce them, and it puzzles one to distinguish their work from the model. They make their musical instruments,

It is more than probable that the little children of the civilised, as well as savages, still picture to themselves material objects when reckoning up numbers.

instruments, most complicated organs, at a single inspection,—as well as astronomical spheres, Turkey carpets, and the most difficult things in manufacture."

The naturalist, d'Orbigny, who in 1832 visited the pueblos of Paraguay, disorganized and ruined after the expulsion of the Jesuits, marvelled at the churches that these savages had constructed and decorated with paintings and sculptures "in the style of the Middle Ages."

Now, these trades and these arts, as well as the ideas corresponding to them, were not innate in the hand and the head of the savage Guaranies; they had been put in so to speak, as an air of Verdi is put into a barrel organ. It is through the education that the Jesuits gave them that they acquired these diverse trades and diverse thoughts. Here we see a case of direct action of man on man. But are there not other means by which the organs and the brain of man may be perfected? Do not the phenomena of the natural and of the social environment, does not experience develop the technical capacity of his organs and modify his thoughts?

The idea of Justice which, according to Jaurès, lies dormant in the mind of the savage, did not creep into the human brain until after the institution of private property.

Savages have no idea at all of Justice; they even have no word to designate such an idea. At the most are they acquainted with the *lex talionis*, the blow for a blow, the eye for an eye, which after all is merely another form of the reflex movement that makes the eyelid blink when an object threatens the eye, or a limb become slack when it is struck. Amongst barbarians even, living in well-developed, but communist social environments, where in consequence private property has hardly had a beginning, the idea of Justice is very vague. In this connection I will quote you Sumner Maine's opinion, the high philosophical value of which will not be disputed by Jaurès.

"Nor, in the sense of the analytical jurists," says Maine, "is there right or duty in an Indian village-community; a person aggrieved complains not of an individual wrong but of the disturbance of the order of the entire little society. More than all, customary law is not enforced by a sanction. In the almost inconceivable case of disobedience to the award of the village council, the sole punishment, or the sole certain punishment, would appear to be universal disapprobation."

Locke, who, like the philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries, used the deductive method employed in geometry, came to think that private property engendered the idea of justice. In his "Human Understanding" he expressly says that "Where there is no property there is no injustice, is a proposition as certain as any demonstration in Euclid: for the idea of property being a right to anything, and the idea to which the name injustice is given being the invasion or violation of that right."

If the idea of Justice, as Locke thought, can only appear after and as a consequence of private property, the idea of theft, or rather the tendency to take unthinkingly what one needs or desires, is on the contrary, well developed, before the institution of private property. The communistic savage and barbarian behave in regard to material goods as our savants and writers do in regard to intellectual goods: whenever they find them they take them, to use Molière's expression. But this natural custom becomes theft, crime, from the time when common property is replaced by private property.

Into the head and heart of savages and barbarians common property put ideas and sentiments which bourgeois Christians, those sad results of private property, will find very strange.

Heckwelder, a Moravian missionary who in the 18th century lived fifteen years among North American savages, not yet corrupted by Christianity and bourgeois civilisation, said:

"The Indians believe that the Great Spirit

Xavier de Charlevoix. "Histoire du Paraguay." Paris, 1757.

H. S. Maine. "Village Communities in the East and West."

"An Essay concerning Human Understanding." Book IV. Chap. III. Tr.

created the world and all that it contains for the common good of men; when he stocked the earth and filled the woods with game, it was not for the advantage of some, but of all. Everything is given in common to the children of men. Everything that breathes on the earth, everything that grows in the fields, everything that lives in the rivers and waters, belongs jointly to all, and everyone has a right to his share."

"With them hospitality is not a virtue but an imperative duty. They would go to rest without eating rather than be accused of having neglected their duties by not satisfying the needs of the stranger, the invalid, the necessitous, because these have a common right to be helped from the common fund; because the game with which they are nourished, if it was taken in the forest, was the property of all before the hunter captured it; because the vegetables and the maize that are offered grow in the common land."

On his part, the Jesuit, Charlevoix, who also had lived among savages ungoverned by the virtues of Christian and property morality, says in his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France":

"The fraternal disposition of the Redskins doubtless comes in part from the fact that mine and thine, those icy words, as St. John Chrysostom calls them, are as yet unknown to the savages. The care that they take of orphans, widows, and the infirm, the hospitality that they practise in so admirable a manner, are but a consequence of their view that everything ought to be common for all men."

Private property, in establishing the distinction of mine and thine, not only inculcated the idea of justice into the mind of man, but slipped into his heart sentiments which have so rooted themselves there that we believe them innate, and which I should scandalize you by mentioning. However it is well established that jealousy and paternal love are unknown to man so long as he lives in a communist state. Women and men are then polygamous. The woman takes as many husbands as she pleases and the man as many wives as he can, and travellers inform us that all these good folks live content and more united than the members of the sad and egoistic monogamic family. But from the time when private property is instituted, the man buys his wife and reserves for himself alone the enjoyment of his reproductive animal: jealousy is a property sentiment transformed. Not until there is private property for him to transmit does the father think of troubling about his child.

The ideas of Justice which encumber the minds of the civilised, and which are based on mine and thine, will vanish like a bad dream when common property shall have taken the place of private property.

Jaurès has told us that the ideas of Justice and Fraternity, coming into contradiction with the social environment, produced the movement of humanity; but if that were true there would have been no historic evolution, for man never would have emerged from the primitive communist environment, in which the idea of Justice does not and cannot exist, and in which the sentiments of fraternity can manifest themselves more freely than in any other social environment whatever.

Translated by A. C. A.

THE LAND OF NOD.

"Perhaps some day somebody will give us a budget of Kitchener stories from the War Office. So far we have only had the tale of how when he went there he asked the porter, 'Have you a bed here?' 'No,' was the answer. 'Then get one,' he ordered."

—"Daily Chronicle," 27.4.15.)

What did they sleep on before Kitchener went there?

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,

REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

THE DIFFERENCE.

The "Daily News and Leader" (24.4.15) quotes the following from a German Conservative organ, the "Post":

"The reform of our domestic policy will mainly depend upon whether a fruitful co-operation between the Government and the non-Socialist parties, on the one hand, and the Socialists on the other, is possible. This, in its turn, will depend upon whether Social Democracy will finally abjure the class war and its aims. The Leibniz-Ledebur group is ruled out in advance. It remains unchanged. Hence it deserves, after the war, to be treated in the same way as it was treated before—and preferably in accordance with Bismarckian methods. It is different with the majority of the Socialists, whose representatives in Parliament have voted for the war credits and the Budget. But even so, their future conduct is uncertain and one must wait and see."

"It is different with the majority of the Socialists." As we have endeavoured to show all along, the parties in this country claiming to be Socialist while not organised on the basis of the class war (the I.L.P., B.S.P., and the like), only practise fraud when they impose such a claim on the working class. The latter accept their statements too freely; they evidently think it does not matter much either way. The capitalists, however, are better instructed and know how to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious, as we see from the above. In this connection an anecdote illustrating the same point was told in "Reynolds'" of August 30th last. The Kaiser for some time before the outbreak of the war had been endeavouring to conciliate German Socialists. While travelling in Switzerland his train was conducted by a well known Socialist representative of the Cantonal Labour Party. The Emperor had a long chat with the guard. It is said that he afterwards overheard some of his entourage commenting on his having received the Socialist, and that he replied: "One must distinguish between what a man is and what he chooses to confess. My son also will come to that conclusion when he is older."

The nature of the "Socialist" organisations on the Continent is easily seen from the decisions of the "Confidential Session" of the Austrian and German "Socialists" held at Vienna in the week ending April 17th. What could be more childish, for instance, than their demand for the "transformation of the courts of international arbitration into compulsory institutions for the solution of all conflicts between the different States"? There can be no compulsion at all without either the display or the exercise of physical force, and if the capitalists of every country could trust each other sufficiently to set up such a force for the purpose of keeping the peace, they could quite conceivably employ the simpler and less expensive method of the arbitration court.

The demand of the Session for "international limitation of armaments by treaties, with general disarmament in view" is equally unattainable for similar reasons. While national groups of capitalists dictate the national policy, the nations will always be at loggerheads over markets. The friction and mutual distrust between these groups will not permit them to disband, the tendency being rather in the direction of greater friction as the backward nations enter into keener competition for a share in the world's market. Quarrels may possibly become less frequent with the advent and progress of a genuine Socialist party in each country. But such a party will certainly not follow the example of the International or the "Confidential Session" and make itself ridiculous by demanding disarmament. It will know why armed forces are maintained.

Furthermore, the representatives of the Social Democratic parties of Germany, Austria, and Hungary declare: The fact that the Socialist parties of the belligerent countries are defending their country and their people must not constitute an obstacle to the maintenance of international relations among the Socialist parties and the continued working of their international institutions."

In other words, the German and Austrian "Socialists" plead for reconciliation with the labour decoys of other countries after the war, it being impossible to meet while the conflict is on, "less on account," as Mr. Bruce Glazier says, "of the difficulty of getting together a representative delegation from the belligerent countries than from the fear lest national animosity should burst forth in the congress, and the danger of prejudicing the political and military situation."

So little do these so-called Socialists understand the class war and its aims. True, the International sometimes passes pious resolutions about the "tried and victorious policy based on the class war," but in the main their deliberations are confined to such impossible demands as have been quoted above, and to capitalist reforms, most of which are already in operation in one country or another, or are advocated by the Liberals or Tories themselves—which is sufficient in itself to condemn them as harmful to the working class.

The difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist is just that emphasised by the "Post." Stated clearly, the Socialist is one who takes up the prosecution of the class war to its final aim: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. He who, claiming to be a Socialist, abjures this, is therefore no Socialist, and of necessity must be anti-Socialist.

F. F.

It may be remarked that the caption under which this is written does not state what the nature of the working-class party is to be. It leaves it an open question whether the party or organisation is to be political or economic or both political and economic. The reason for this is quite easily explained. It is intended by the present scribe that the enquiry upon which he invites the reader to embark with him shall go back behind such questions as these, and so include them within its scope.

We start, then, only with the assumption that the workers are a class apart, that as a class they must have a class interest, and that having a class interest they must of necessity organise themselves for the furtherance of that class interest. We shall proceed with our enquiry from this basis without spending more than a little time and space in making clear how we arrive at that assumption.

In sociology a class is a division of society the conditions of living of whose members are similar in the main, but different to those of another section, or other sections. These conditions invariably and essentially have their roots in privilege on the one hand and exploitation on the other. Throughout history class division has rested upon property conditions. In all the forms through which society has passed nothing has ever been found upon which class privileges could be founded, or with which they could be maintained, that did not resolve itself, directly or indirectly, into the ownership and control of property.

Modern society can quite adequately illustrate the point. The ownership of property enables the owners to appropriate wealth without producing its equivalent. As the natural corollary of this, the absence of ownership of property entails upon the propertyless the penalty of producing, and being robbed of, that wealth which the property owner acquires without labour. If the non-producer appropriates the product of human toil it is incontestable that he must take the wealth of those who do produce.

This property ownership creates, for those who share in it on the one hand, and for those who are debarred from it on the other, conditions of life that are as divergent as, that possibly are even more divergent than, are the life conditions of the propertyless class and the common domesticated animals. Let no one dismiss this as a wild exaggeration. The facts as revealed by a little thought are convincing. The horse lives to work; the propertyless worker does the same. In this respect they are parallel. To say that one lives a human existence

while the other lives an animal existence is sophistry. It is, in reality, trying to cover up the truth by revealing the "human" nature of the worker and the "animal" nature of the horse. It utters no truth at all concerning the respective conditions under which the one and the other live. It is quite plain that the higher mind which it is commonly assumed is embodied in the human make up may be but an instrument of torture under wretched conditions—a suggestion amply borne out by the prevalence of the drug habit among "intellectual" failures, and, dare we say, the drink habit among those who find it more suited to their needs. The rock bottom fact is that both the propertyless human worker and the horse live only to work—and to work for somebody else. In this respect there is no distance between them.

On the other hand, there is all the difference in the world between the life conditions of the property owner and those of the propertyless worker. An immensity of difference separates them. It is not only that the former is set free from the necessity of having to work for his living while the latter has to produce the livelihood of both. It is much worse than that. The wage-worker does not merely live by the sale of his labour-power: he has to sell the whole of his labour power, even to the point of exhaustion, and for just so much as will suffice in the long run to reproduce that labour-power. Day in and day out, from childhood to decrepit old age, this is his dreary fate, with super-added misery that he never knows when he is going to find it impossible to get a purchaser for his commodity, and hence when he and those dependent upon him will find themselves face to face with actual starvation.

The life conditions of such as these, with the misery of their hopeless toil, the constant anxiety of their insecure hold upon the means of subsistence, the narrow circle of their horizon, and the sordid surroundings of their habitations, and the poverty-burdened atmosphere of their home life, have nothing at all in common with the life conditions of the propertied class. The latter do not know what it is to have work for their living, to be chained from year to year's end to one spot, like tethered goats, because their living lies there, to want for common necessities of life. How completely these two sets of life conditions are separated from each other can only be left, after all, to the imagination of the reader.

It is not denied that many of the working class are considerably better off than the bulk of their fellows; but even these cases the main features of the working-class lot are present—they have to sell their labour-power, and as a consequence are bound to a prescribe daily round, never sure when even the opportunity of following that dull round may be denied to them.

No one can help observing that these two classes exist in society. We shall next proceed to enquire whether classes whose lives have so little in common can have common interests, or whether their interests, like their life conditions, are peculiar to the class.

(To be continued.)

TRIFLES.

"As for me, I count it an honour to have been chairman of the Independent Labour Party during the past year, which will always be remembered as one containing a record of faithful adherence to principle of which the Party may well be proud."

(Mr. F. W. Jewett. Presidential address, I.L.P. Conference, Norwich.)

It would be a never-to-be-forgotten occurrence if it were true that the I.L.P. could find any record of faithful adherence to principle. But they haven't got any any principles to be either false or true to, which is the reason they can be facing all ways according to the dictates of "conscience," and still hang together.

"How is the cost of the war to be met? The I.L.P. must press for heavy taxation of unearned incomes." ("Labour leader," 15.4.15)

No doubt Lloyd George likes to hear all views, and if the I.L.P. can take his worry off his shoulders they are doing useful work—for him.

THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION.

—o—

BEING PART VIII OF "CAPITAL" (Vol. 1), BY
KARL MARX.

—o—

BLOODY LEGISLATION AGAINST THE EXPROPRIATED FROM THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY. FORCING DOWN WAGES BY ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

(Continued.)

It is not enough that the conditions of labour are concentrated in a mass, in the shape of capital, at the one pole of society, while at the other are grouped masses of men, who have nothing to sell but their labour-power. Neither is it enough that they are compelled to sell it voluntarily. The advance of capitalist production develops a working-class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of nature. The organisation of the capitalist process of production, once fully developed, breaks down all resistance. The constant generation of a relative surplus-population keeps the law of supply and demand of labour, and therefore keeps wages, in a rut that corresponds with the wants of capital. The dull compulsion of economic relations completes the subjection of the labourer to the capitalist. Direct force, outside economic conditions, is of course still used, but only exceptionally. In the ordinary run of things, the labourer can be left to the "natural laws of production," i.e., to his dependence on capital, a dependence springing from, and guaranteed in perpetuity by, the conditions of production themselves. It is otherwise during the historic genesis of capitalist production. The bourgeoisie, at its rise, wants and uses the power of the State to "regulate" wages, i.e., to force them within the limits suitable for surplus-value making, to lengthen the working-day and to keep the labourer himself in the normal degree of dependence. This is an essential element of the so-called primitive accumulation.

The class of wage-labour, which arose in the latter half of the 14th century, formed then and in the following century only a very small part of the population, well protected in its position by the independent peasants, proprietary in the country and the guild-organisation in the town. In country and town master and workmen stood close together socially. The subordination of labour to capital was only formal—i.e., the mode of production itself had as yet no specific capitalist character. Variable capital preponderated greatly over constant. The demand for wage-labour grew, therefore, rapidly with every accumulation of capital, whilst the supply of wage-labour followed but slowly. A large part of the national product, changed later into a fund of capitalist accumulation, then still entered into the consumption fund of the labourer.

Legislation on wage-labour, (from the first, aimed at the exploitation of the labourer and, as it advanced, always equally hostile to him,) is started in England by the Statute of Labourers, of Edward III., 1349. The ordinance of 1350 in France, issued in the name of King John, corresponds with it. English and French legislation run parallel and are identical in purport. So far as the labour statutes aim at compulsory extension of the working-day, I do not return to them, as this point was treated earlier (Chap. X., Section 5.).

The Statute of Labourers was passed at the urgent instance of the House of Commons. A Tory says naïvely: "Formerly the poor demanded such *high* wages as to threaten industry and wealth. Next, their wages are so *low* as to threaten industry and wealth equally and perhaps more, but in another way." A tariff of wages was fixed by law for town and country, for piece-work and day-work. The agricultural labourers were to hire themselves out by the year, the town ones "in open market." It was forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to pay higher wages than those fixed by the statute, but the taking of higher wages was more severely punished than the giving them. [So also in Sections 18 and 19 of the Statute of

Apprentices of Elizabeth, ten days' imprisonment is decreed for him that pays the higher wages, but twenty-one days for him that receives them.] A statute of 1360 increased the penalties and authorised the masters to extort labour at the legal rate by corporal punishment. All combinations, contracts, oaths, &c., by which masons and carpenters reciprocally bound themselves, were declared null and void. Coalition of the labourers is treated as a heinous crime from the 14th century to 1825, the year of the repeal of the laws against Trade Unions. The spirit of the Statute of Labourers of 1349 and of its offshoots, comes out clearly in the fact, that a maximum of wages is dictated by the State, but on no account a minimum.

In the 16th century, the condition of the labourers had, as we know, become much worse. The money wage rose, but not in proportion to the depreciation of money and the corresponding rise in the prices of commodities. Wages, therefore, in reality fell. Nevertheless, the laws for keeping them down remained in force, together with the ear-clipping and branding of those "whom no one was willing to take into service." By the Statute of Apprentices 5 Elizabeth, c. 3, the justices of the peace were empowered to fix certain wages and to modify them according to the time of the year and the price of commodities. James I. extended these regulations of labour also to weavers, spinners, and all possible categories of workers. George II. extended the laws against coalitions of labourers to manufactures. In the manufacturing period *par excellence*, the capitalist mode of production had become sufficiently strong to render legal regulation of wages as impractical as it was unnecessary; but the ruling classes were unwilling in case of necessity to be without the weapons of the old arsenal. Still, 8 George II. forbade a higher day's wage than 2s. 7½d. for journeymen tailors in and around London, except in cases of general mourning; still, 13 George III., c. 68, gave the regulation of the silk-weavers to the justices of the peace; still, in 1706 it required two judgments of the higher courts to decide, whether the mandates of justices of the peace as to wages held good also for non-agricultural labourers; still, in 1799 an act of Parliament ordered that the wages of the Scotch miners should continue to be regulated by a statute of Elizabeth and two Scotch acts of 1661 and 1671. How completely in the meantime circumstances had changed, is proved by an occurrence unheard-of before in the English Lower House. In that place, where for more than 400 years laws had been made for the maximum, beyond which wages absolutely must not rise, Whitbread in 1796 proposed a legal minimum wage for agricultural labourers. Pitt opposed this, but confessed that the "condition of the poor was cruel." Finally, in 1813, the laws for the regulation of wages were repealed. They were an absurd anomaly, since the capitalist regulated his factory by his private legislation, and could by the poor-rates make up the wage of the agricultural labourer to the indispensable minimum. The provisions of the labour statutes as to the contracts between master and workman, as to giving notice and the like, which only allow of a civil action against the contract-breaking master, but on the contrary permit a criminal action against the contract-breaking workman, are to this hour (1873) in full force. The barbarous laws against Trades' Unions fell in 1825 before the threatening bearing of the proletariat. Despite this, they fell only in part. Certain beautiful fragments of the old statute vanished only in 1859. Finally, the act of Parliament of June 26, 1871, made a pretence of removing the last traces of this class of legislation by legal recognition of Trades' Unions. But an act of Parliament of the same date (an act to amend the criminal law relating to violence, threats, and molestation), re-established, in point of fact, the former state of things in a new shape. By this Parliamentary escamotage the means which the labourers could use in a strike or lock-out were withdrawn from the laws common to all citizens, and placed under exceptional penal legislation, the interpretation of which fell to the masters themselves in their capacity as justices of the peace. Two years earlier, the same House of Commons and the same Mr. Gladstone in the well known straightforward fashion brought in a bill for the abolition

of all exceptional penal legislation against the working-class. But this was never allowed to go beyond the second reading, and the matter was thus protracted until at last the "great Liberal party," by an alliance with the Tories, found courage to turn against the very proletariat that had carried it into power. Not content with this treachery, the "great Liberal party" allowed the English judges, ever complaisant in the service of the ruling classes, to dig up again the earlier laws against "conspiracy," and to apply them to coalitions of labourers. We see that only against its will and under the pressure of the masses did the English Parliament give up the laws against Strikes and Trades' Unions, after it had itself, for 500 years, held, with shameless egoism, the position of a permanent Trades' Union of the capitalists against the labourers.

During the very first storms of the revolution, the French bourgeoisie dared to take away from the workers the right of association but just acquired. By a decree of June 14, 1791, they declared all coalition of the workers as "an attempt against liberty and the declaration of the rights of man," punishable by a fine of 500 livres, together with deprivation of the rights of an active citizen for one year. This law which, by means of State compulsion, confined the struggle between capital and labour within limits comfortable for capital, has outlined revolutions and changes of dynasties. Even the Reign of Terror left it untouched. It was but quite recently struck out of the Penal Code. Nothing is more characteristic than the pretext for this bourgeois coup d'état. "Granting," says Chapelier, the reporter of the Select Committee on this law, "that wages ought to be a little higher than they are, . . . that they ought to be high enough for him that receives them, to be free from that state of absolute dependence due to the want of the necessities of life, and which is almost that of slavery," yet the workers must not be allowed to come to any understanding about their own interests, nor to act in common and thereby lessen their "absolute dependence, which is almost that of slavery," because, forsaking in doing this they injure "the freedom of their ci-devant masters, the present entrepreneurs," and because a coalition against the despotism of the quondam masters of the corporations is—guess what!—a restoration of the corporations abolished by the French constitution.

GENESIS OF THE CAPITALIST FARMER.

Now that we have considered the forcible creation of a class of outlawed proletarians, the bloody discipline that turned them into wage-labourers, the disgraceful action of the State which employed the police to accelerate the accumulation of capital by increasing the degree of exploitation of labour, the question remains: whence came the capitalists originally? For the expropriation of the agricultural population creates, directly, none but great landed proprietors. As far, however, as concerns the genesis of the farmer, we can, so to say, put our hand on it, because it is a slow process evolving through many centuries. The serfs, as well as the free small proprietors, held land under very different tenures, and were therefore emancipated under very different economic conditions. In England the first form of the farmer is the bailiff, himself a serf. His position is similar to that of the old Roman *civilius*, only in a more limited sphere of action. During the second half of the 14th century he is replaced by a farmer, whom the landlord provides with seed, cattle and implements. His condition is not very different to that of the peasant. Only he exploits more wage labour. Soon he becomes a master, a half-farmer. He advances one part of the agricultural stock, the landlord the other. The two divide the total product in proportions determined by contract. This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital breed by employing wage-labourers, and pays a part of the surplus product, in money or in kind, to the landlord as rent. So long, during the 15th century, as the independent peasant and the farm-labourer working for himself as well as for wages, enriched themselves by their own labour, the circumstances of the farmer, and his field of

production, were equally mediocre. The agricultural revolution which commenced in the last third of the 15th century, and continued during almost the whole of the 16th (excepting, however, its last decade), enriched him just as speedily as it impoverished the mass of the agricultural people.

The usurpation of the common lands allowed him to augment greatly his stock of cattle, almost without cost, whilst they yielded him a richer supply of manure for the tillage of the soil. To this, was added in the 16th century, a very important element. At that time the contracts for farms ran for a long time, often for 99 years. The progressive fall in the value of the precious metals, and therefore of money, brought the farmers golden fruit. Apart from all the circumstances discussed above, it lowered wages. A portion of the latter were now added to the profits of the farm. The continuous rise in the price of corn, wool, meat, in a word of all agricultural produce, swelled the money capital of the farmer without any action on his part, whilst the rent he paid, (being calculated on the old value of money) diminished in reality. Thus they grew rich at the expense both of their labourers and their landlords. No wonder, therefore, that England, at the end of the 16th century, had a class of capitalist farmers, rich, considering the circumstances of the time.

(To be Continued.)

A STUDY IN GUARANTEES.

—o—

This is, seemingly, an age of guarantees. A bewildering number of commodities are guaranteed for some thing, or for some time; a few, in fact, are even guaranteed for ever!

At first glance this would seem a remarkable illustration of the genuineness of that claim for supreme reliability, which is put forward on behalf of the goods of every up-to-date manufacturer. But the unsophisticated purchaser of a watch—elaborately guaranteed for twelve months—or more—has a sudden and painful disillusionment when the mainspring snaps.

On his hopeful return to the salesman with his precious certificate, he usually finds to his stupefaction that he has broken most of the terms of the warranty, as well as the spring, by using the watch; and must therefore pay heavily for the repair.

His disgust makes him suddenly realise that until then he had mistaken the rightful use of that piece of paper with the many flourishes.

A closer acquaintance with the guarantee fraud completes his disillusionment, for he finds the purpose of the guarantee to be—not the proud assumption, on the part of the maker, of full responsibility for the article—but precisely the denial of that responsibility. The guarantee is not to protect the purchaser, but to limit the responsibility of the maker, and protect him from liability for consequential damage, for which he would be actionable at law in the absence of that specific disclaimer he has the cheek to call a Guarantee! That blessed word, to be sure, is always printed on the document in bold capitals, but it is followed by serrated ranks of microscopic type which often runs—to quote an actual and common specimen—"This guarantee is given instead of, and expressly excluding, any kind of implied guarantee (statutory or otherwise) and the damages for which we make ourselves responsible are limited to . . . etc. It does not apply to any defects caused by wear and tear," and so on, *ad nauseam*.

It is, however, characteristic of the capitalists to give their profit-making devices every appearance of charity and self-sacrifice. They take Hamlet's advice and assume a virtue though they have it not. Thus, for example, the last few days have seen yet another form of these specious guarantees pass before the public eye.

In the "Daily Telegraph" of April 23rd, Mr. George Pragnell, chairman of the Employers' Territorial Association, gave a list of recommendations to aid recruiting. No. 10 of these urged: "That all employers be compelled to guarantee re-instatement to men who leave their present situations to join the colours or to assist in making munitions of war."

Surely, from the point of view of the capital-

ist class itself, nothing could be more reasonable than this. Working men who are sacrificing themselves and their dependents to uphold the country, wealth and profits of their masters, would certainly seem to deserve to have their posts of slavery preserved for them. But is this, then, to be done? Not at all. The self-sacrifice of the master class to those who have the privilege of defending it so bravely, would be overstrained. Such a definite pledge may appear quite reasonable to us workmen, but the capitalist knows that it is utterly impracticable. It might reduce profits. Let profits be maintained, though the heavens fall, say our masters.

Therefore, instead of, and expressly excluding, any kind of implied guarantee (statutory or otherwise) the employers of this country are signing the following pledge:

In view of the great sacrifices made by most of the men who have enlisted (including loss of situation, and in order to further stimulate recruiting, we wish it to be known that, when filling up positions after the war, we intend to give preference to those who have served their country under arms or in making munitions of war.

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYER. . . .
TRADE. . . .
TOWN AND COUNTY

(Daily Telegraph, 23.1.1915.)

This is the actual form that is being signed by employers all over the country. Its superiority to Mr. Pragnell's suggestion is at once apparent. The Patriotic Pledge takes the wind out of the sails of any attempt to get the Government to re-instate men. Moreover, it fulfils its great purpose of stimulating recruiting, and leaves the employee without excuse—unless he dares to doubt the intention and good faith of his employer! Most wonderful of all, however, is the fact that this pledge does not menace profits, nor bind the employer in any way. It is entirely of a piece with the commercial guarantees already referred to.

Even if the pledge gave a definite undertaking, the head of the firm always escapes responsibility. His departmental foremen have to make their sections show good results, and these foremen, who take on hands, have to crush down all sentiment and take only the most profitable, irrespective of past services, or see themselves supplanted by less scrupulous men. In these circumstances the war-worn warrior stands a very slender chance.

But the pledge guarantees nothing. After the war the heroes, or what is left of them, will present themselves for re-engagement. Then the employer "when filling up positions after the war" will, if men otherwise equal in profit-making capacity offer themselves, give "preference" to the man who has fought for him. The employer, therefore, is under no obligation whatever to re-instate the man, or even to pay the same wages as before the war, or to dispense with the cheap woman or child labour that has put in the place of the hero. He is not pledged to forego one jot or tittle of profit or convenience. He has merely when "taking on" to give "preference." As the soldier will remember, the generosity of the employers' pledge is simply paralyzing.

Of what value, indeed, is any such "preference" when, after the debilitating privations and nerve-shattering experiences of war, added to the loss of skill due to long absence from his craft, the disadvantages of the ex-soldier are so obvious? Clearly the real economic preference, the preference that has first call on the generosity of the employer, will nearly always be against the brave fighter for his master's cause.

What is the lesson of the past? Says the "Daily Telegraph" in the same issue, "Some men of military age . . . responsible for the welfare of others . . . still hesitate . . . Remembering the experience of ex-soldiers who, after the South African war, sought employment in vain for many months, they hang back." This, indeed, is common knowledge. But wherein does the present pledge improve the prospect? If the employing class were willing to sacrifice a millionth part of what the workers are sacrificing for them, they would freely and frankly guarantee re-instatement as the least they could do. Yet their present pledge is a fraud on the fighter and an insult to the workers' intelligence. Its sole purpose

is to give a fillip to recruiting while safeguarding the pockets of the employer.

What evidence have we, indeed, of any sacrifice on the part of the employing class? If all of them went to the front they would only be doing their duty, for they have something to fight for. It is, in fact, their fight. But where are they not endeavouring to screw the uttermost farthing of profit out of the war? Flour is a prime necessity of life, yet here is a sample, from the same issue of the paper, of the facts which leak out about "sacrifices" made by the employing class.

FLOUR MERCHANTS' PROFITS.

—o—

"REMARKABLE FIGURES."

"The annual report of Messrs. Spillers and Bakers (Ltd.), millers and flour merchants, issued yesterday, shows a profit for the year ended February of £367,865, against £39,352 in the previous year. The directors propose an increased bonus of 5 per cent, making a distribution of 20 per cent. for the year, against 15 per cent. in the three previous years, placing £100,000 to reserve for special contingencies, £50,000 to general reserve fund, and carrying forward £258,111, or £100,000 more than last year. The highest previous year's profit was £196,517 in 1912."

On the other hand, however, what a howl of outraged patriotism was vented by the Press when a body of engineers, to meet some of the increased cost of living, demanded a little more in wages! It is abundantly clear that the whole sacrifice must be on one side. And of this, indeed, the Great Patriotic Pledge is itself an example.

Many thousands of women and young persons are taking, at a considerably smaller wage, the jobs vacated by the warriors. And this, of course, is all to the profit of the capitalist, for there is neither pledge nor prospect that these women will ever be discharged to make room for ex-soldiers. Indeed, what would become of them in that event? Women have surely as much right to a livelihood as men. But capitalism continually creates problems it cannot solve, and which can never be solved short of Socialism. Suffice to say, the prospects for the labour market after the war are by no means rosy. The employer, however, can rub his hands with glee, for he, as usual, is playing the good old game of heads I win and tails you lose.

It is evident that the conclusion of the war will find labour driven to the wall, and engaged in its keenest and most bitter struggle. It will, moreover, find capitalism hoping to have obtained a fresh lease of life from the destruction of the wealth of a generation.

Peace under capitalism, therefore, can but be synonymous with class warfare—hardly less deadly, and no less widespread, than the national-plus-class warfare of the present moment.

Would that one could be consoled in the midst of the squalid industrial slavery of capitalism, and its decimation of the manhood of the world on the altars of patriotism, with the certain knowledge that at long last the workers have read their hard lesson aright; so that the end of this war were the beginning of the end of all war!

In that event the joy of contemplating the end of wage-slavery and the birth of a possibility for a full, healthy and peaceful life for all, would amply compensate the miseries and atrocities of the day.

How long, indeed, will the toilers endure the wretched system which transforms a superabundant wealth-production into a reason for poverty, for over-work, and for a human shambles more awful than any ever known in the long history of the world, and in which, as a final commentary on the unselfish patriotism of the robber class, even the supreme sacrifice of their defenders is being purchased by employers with false coin!

F. C. W.

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"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

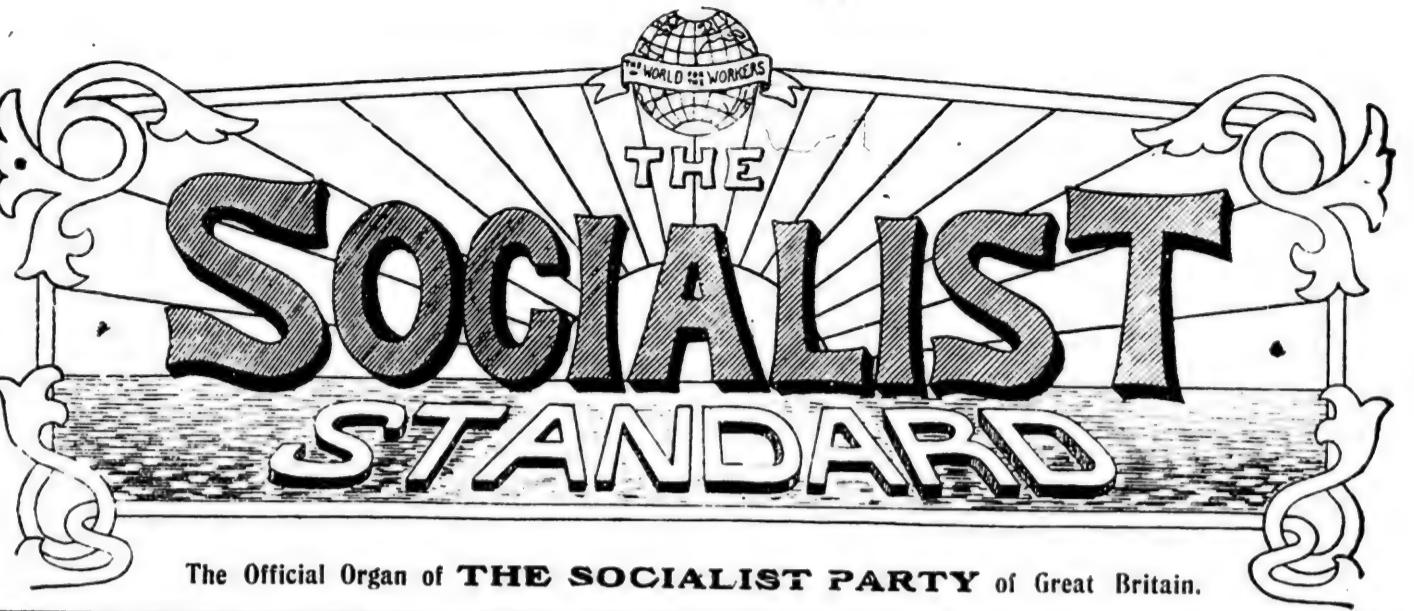
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LONDON, JUNE, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

A THING OF BEAUTY.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BOURGEOIS MORALITY.

The subject of what are known as war babies was recently agitating the Press of this country, the excitement at one time being so great that one journal was shaken into a confession. On the 29th April the leading article in the "Evening News" was headed "Baby-Talk." In spite, however, of the enormous interest

The Bishops attaching to this question it is the discussion arising from it. rather than the subject itself, which it is here intended to review.

Convocation, we find, discusses the question, and individual bishops become tremendously concerned about it. The Bishop of Oxford condemns the laxity of tone in which the matter has been discussed in some quarters, and the Bishop of Chelmsford attacks the Press and says that newspapers with immense circulations have been advocating what is practically free love. That such a state of things can even be alleged is evidence, surely, that far more seriousness is needed.

So smile not, reader, even at the bishops who discuss this matter in Convocation. Even if, in the course of your ramblings among statistics, you may have found that certain University towns do not figure among those with the smallest percentages of illegitimate births, and even if you should reflect on the academic distinction of the learned gentlemen in Convocation, still, draw no hasty and erroneous conclusions. Smile not at the solemnity of these bishops. Remember that if for the dominant class as a whole the maintenance of war babies will only be a matter of rates or taxes, for the clergy, on the other hand, the maintenance of bourgeois morality is a matter of life and death. An individual bourgeois—contractor, for example, grown rich on the profits derived from the traffic in foodstuffs or other death-dealing materials—might conceivably dismiss this question of war babies with a remark like Heinrich Heine's:

"Oh, the women! we must forgive them much, for they love much—and many."

But for the clergy it is different. The master whom they serve is the capitalist class, and when it shall have become evident that their (the clergy's) ever-feebler influence over the proletariat has vanished entirely, their reward will be that of the superannuated wage-slave, the sack. Besides, if marriages

Of Kids who haven't Paid the help of the parsons, what **Their Footing.** Hence these parasites now-a-days must take themselves very seriously (in public); the more their influence wanes the more importance and solemnity must they assume. So much for the clergy and their comic, if comprehensible, seriousness.

But before leaving these survivals and turning to the views of the comparatively responsible bourgeoisie, it is necessary to record one remark made to Convocation by the Archbishop of Canterbury. "It was quite apparent," the Archbishop added, "that apprehensions were very much better founded in some few places in England than in others." ("Daily Chronicle," 28th April, 1915.) The depth of thought responsible for this remark may be paralleled, perhaps, in the works of our orthodox economists, but where shall we find a finer example of caution? If only such a degree of this quality had been possessed by those girls who now threaten to increase the rates or taxes of our

master against that "immorality," lending money for interest. But the rise to power of the capitalist class gave the Church a new master, a new ruling class to serve. Denunciations of usury are powerful, but would be horribly out of place in modern society. The Church of to-day must adapt its teachings to

They will to Save their Precious Tin the needs of the ruling class of to-day. What is necessary to-day is to distinguish between the temporary and the more lasting interests of that class. This fact, slightly disguised, is pointed out by A.G.C. in the "Daily News" of the 24th April. Referring to Mr. M'Neill's suggestions he writes:

"He [Mr. M'Neill] does not seem to see that if you popularise illegitimacy now, if you grow dithyrambic about it, you will popularise it permanently. You cannot have two standards on this subject, a war standard of morality and a peace standard. . . . it is not easy to see that, once having removed the 'bar sinister' from our social system, it could ever be restored.

But a change of this sort should not be made incidentally and in a paroxysm of sentiment, but with a full consideration of all that is involved in it. We must not do it to-day under the impulse of patriotism and undo it to-morrow under the impulse of selfish interest."

Two things, however, appear to be agreed upon by most of our bourgeois writers on this topic. One is that the bearing of illegitimate children is an evil; the other is that the bastardy laws must be reformed. On the latter point one writer became so excited that he nearly repeated himself to death in the pages of the "English Review." The gentleman in question is Mr. Austin Harrison, he who recently rose to fame as an authority on Marx's Materialist Conception of History without having devoted a moment's study to that subject. "The law," he writes,

"is unspeakably cruel. It says the illegitimate child has to remain illegitimate. It has no kin, no right of inheritance. . . . I say with all the earnestness of which I am capable, it will be a lasting disgrace if we do not repeat our wicked Bastardy Laws, so

Revise the Catalogue of Sin. that these children may be suffered to come into the world free from ban and social degradation."

Terrible! Think of it, you happy, legitimate wage slaves, who came into the world "free from ban and social degradation." And how sad that these children of the disinherited should be deprived of the right of inheritance!

In the numerous articles written on the sub-

ject of war babies the views that one finds expressed are mostly of the character of those above quoted, and it is difficult to believe the statement of the Bishop of Chelmsford that "what was practically free love" was advocated by newspapers with immense circulations. For it is the Socialists alone who advocate and work for the establishment of those social conditions which will remove the obstacles in the way of free love. "The full freedom of marriage," as Frederick Engels wrote, "can become general only after all minor economic considerations, that still exert such a powerful influence on the choice of a mate for life, have been removed by the abolition of capitalistic production and of the property relations created by it. Then no other motive will remain but mutual fondness."

A. C. A.

THE B.S.P.

"WHICH HORSE DO THEY RIDE?"

—o—

"Henceforth, possibly, we shall know whether it is Ramsay the national recruiting agent, or Macdonald 'peace at any price' politician who is addressing the public, and similarly with those other dual personalities, Keir and Hardie, Bruce and Glasier, etc., etc. Which horse do you ride, comrades, the white or the skew-bald?"

So wrote Mr. Hyndman in the "Sunday Herald" of March 28th, 1915, and it may, indeed, be difficult for the layman to say which horse the I.L.P. is astride. Some of its members, like Parker, M.P., are foremost in their support of the "allies" and are strenuously assisting the masters "to justify the war and glorify Great Britain's share in the responsibility for its pestilential presence," if we may quote his fraternal comrade Jowett. It is plain to the thinker with any degree of clarity that the I.L.P. is persisting in the old "facing both ways" policy in order to confuse the worker, and to enlist support from all sides.

Where, however, stands the organisation of which Mr. Hyndman is so shining a light, the "British Socialist Party," the party that so short a time ago startled the world with its manifesto hurling defiance to the master class and all its labour supporters, breathing fire upon all forms of compromise and reform? Which horse does it ride? Neither white nor skew-bald nor pied, but a new sort of horse, with many of the qualities of the ass, and with an outer covering of a rainbow hue.

A report of the voting at divisional conferences states that the conference "urged the party to take no part in recruiting meetings under any conditions whatever" and that the "conference regrets that the Executive Committee should have recommended members and branches under any circumstances whatever, to associate themselves with the recruiting campaign." One resolution, carried by 97 votes to 24, declares the war to be "the outcome of commercial rivalry between the capitalists," asserts that "the workers have no quarrel," and "calls upon the working class to concentrate on class war," declaring that the workers' conditions make it "vital for them to organise for the overthrow of the capitalist system."

This, however, does not suit Mr. Hyndman. He openly supports the British capitalists in their call for cannon fodder; accuses the I.L.P. of "distorting public documents," "publishing the opinions of the German Government in their official pamphlets" (presumably with German funds) without thinking it necessary to bring forward a little of evidence for any of his statements.

Other prominent members, headed by Victor Fisher, have assisted in the formation of the Socialist National Defence Committee, which issues a manifesto urging Socialists to carry the British flag in the "war of liberation" the most amusing document that has appeared for some time past in that most comic journal, "The Clarion" (14.5.15).

Here is a sample:

"In this gigantic struggle for the soul of European civilisation, threatened to-day by a brutal but highly efficient militarist materialism, our allied nations have found their bulwark in an application of those principles which are the foundation of Socialist faith.

Not to egoistic individualism, nor to competitive commercialism, nor to profit-mongering does Europe in her agony turn for strength and sustenance; but to Social solidarity, organization, co-operation, and an exalted self-sacrifice. Who dies if England lives? Is not this the essential appeal of Socialism?"

Now one can see the breed of the ass.

And of the signatories to the above, Mr. G. H. Gorle, writes to "Justice" (15.4.15) illustrating some of the confusion. He complains that "the Kentish Town branch dissociates itself from Hyndman; the Executive goes out of its way to do the same to the I.L.P. conference. Some branches sell the 'Labour Leader' and I.L.P. pamphlets. At least one branch refuses a speaker because he takes the allied Socialist view of the war."

He declares himself a "loyal member of the Party," and to display his loyalty says:

"I say quite frankly that in future if the opportunity occurs, I shall go on the recruiting platform, and that I believe the best way to serve the cause of International Social Democracy is to fight for the success of the Allies."

It would seem to be by far the best way to serve International Socialism to preach to the fraternal comrades of each country that they should kill their fraternal comrades of other countries. This is the way to unity.

J. Hunter Watts goes one better ("Justice," 22.4.15) and calls for recruits for a "Comrades company for service at the front," stating that he has "now constituted himself a recruiting agent for the British Army"; while at a Blackburn meeting of the B.S.P. (May 2) he declares that "every Socialist capable of shouldering a rifle must enlist." The meeting closed with "God Save the King!"

One resolution of the B.S.P. Conference reads:

"That this Conference is of the opinion that the present European war has its basic origin in the rivalry in the struggle for industrial and financial markets between the capitalist classes of the various nations of Europe."

This was carried, and it can be taken to be the opinion of the party. Mr. Hunter Watts, however, pours scorn upon the idea. He says:

"It had been stated by a few formula-ridden Socialists that the war had been engineered by capitalists in order to secure markets. Such a statement was rubbish" (report of "Northern Telegraph," 3.5.15).

I take it that Mr. Hunter-Watts knows that the "few formula-ridden Socialists" who talk "rubbish" constitute the majority of his own fraternal comrades!

In the same speech Mr. Hunter Watts says:

"The war was aimed at crushing a power which had already been guilty of destroying one or two small nationalities."

This sort of thing is quite a common failing of 24, declares the war to be "the outcome of commercial rivalry between the capitalists," asserts that "the workers have no quarrel," and "calls upon the working class to concentrate on class war," declaring that the workers' conditions make it "vital for them to organise for the overthrow of the capitalist system."

When Masterman contested Dulwich Hunter Watts voted for him and urged others to do so on the ground that Rutherford Harris, Masterman's opponent, was a Jameson raider. He confessed that he "knew no more about Masterman than the man in the moon," and in a letter dated 13.12.03 said:

"Though it goes against the grain to vote for a Liberal, it seems to me a duty to prevent a Jameson raider being sent to Parliament. On Harris's head rests some of the blood of the peasant farmers slain in the defence of their national independence."

So he would support Beelzebub to cast out Beelzebub. And in the present case, in order to oppose the "Militarism of Prussia" and to restrain the hand of the German capitalist on the prowl for profit, he is ready to fight in the interest of the Russian, French, Belgian, and English capitalists who are doing exactly the same thing.

If the blood of the Boer peasant farmer rested upon the head of Rutherford Harris, what oceans of working-class gore must amount to the group of exploiters in the allied camp! — The blood of the Communards, of the tortured men and women of Russia, of the decimated natives of the Congo, to say nothing of the

butchered peasant farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The B.S.P. Conference by a unanimous vote passed the following:

"That this Conference expresses abhorrence of the brutal and tyrannical methods of the Russian Government and records its special protest against (1) The criminal attempt to deprive the working class of representation by arresting the Social Democrats of the Duma; (2) the suppression of the right of meetings and of the Freedom of the Press [this is the first time the present writer has heard of its existence]; (3) the imprisonment and exile of Trade Unionists and (4) the imposition upon the enlightened Finnish people of the barbarous Muscovite despotism."

Bitter words indeed in which to describe the noble ally of Hyndman, Hunter-Watts, Gorle & Co.!

Deep in the pit into which they sink who by either ignorance or cupidity attempt to support and justify either set of thieves in their ghastly game of death, Hyndman waxes indignant over the "frightful outrages of the Germans and the piratical doings of their submarines," and then openly sides with the Allies, thereby justifying, from his viewpoint, the atrocities he has denounced in the past—the horrors of India, of Siberia and of Ireland; the suppression and betrayal of Finland, of Poland and of Persia.

Nothing that the German nation does will surprise us, because we know that in their struggle for profits there is no depth to which the capitalist class will not sink—no crime too foul for them to commit. We repeat now, after ten months of war, what we said before the war began, that in no circumstances can any Socialist urge the workers to voluntarily fight with or in the interest of any section of that piratical gang of financiers whose hands are red with the blood of murdered members of our class.

Those who, claiming to be Socialists, endeavour to entangle the workers in this bloody struggle, are working directly in the interest of our only enemy, the international capitalists, who, when their own squabble is settled, will again unite to exploit and rob the producers of the world's wealth. The B.S.P. ride the ass of confusion—may they ride it to its death!

Twe..

BY THE WAY.

One of the results of the present international struggle has been to show in no uncertain manner who is with us and those who are against us. Labour M.P.'s have endeavoured to outdo both Liberal and Tory in their denunciation of the workers. "Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., said he had read in the papers a statement by his friend, Mr. James Sexton, that the appalling casualties at Neuve Chapelle were largely due to the lack of munitions. In other words, if the workmen had done their duty many a British soldier who had died there would be probably alive to-day." As was pointed out in last month's "S.S." it is necessary to hide from the men in the trenches some of the contributing factors for the deficiency. Is Mr. Roberts really as simple as he appears to be, or is he playing the game? The present scribe knows of men who were engaged at a London Labour Exchange for work in a munitions factory at Newcastle, and after journeying thither were sent back to London without even being given a trial. This is a "national emergency," when all parties are screeching about the dearth of munitions. Verily, like the peace of God, it passeth all understanding.

Perhaps these "labour" gentry and other capitalist apologists might reply that the number of men rejected is somewhat small. But even so, it does not redound to the credit of these men of "great directive ability" and "business acumen" for their London agents to engage men and despatch them several hundred miles to be rejected at the other end.

* * *

Again, to look at the subject from another point, the magnificent wage of 28s. for a 53 hour week does not appear to err on the side of generosity. When one considers that 15s. appears to be the amount for board and lodging,

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with an addition of 2s. for travelling expenses to and from work, deductions for Insurance and Trade Union subscriptions, combined with the fact that many of the London men have a family to support, it is easily seen how utterly impossible it would be for these workers to go and get decently drunk.

* * *

Mr. Ben Tillett (of God strike Lord Devonport dead fame) has been staying in France to recover his health, and on the occasion of the May-day meeting addressed a message to French workers, in the course of which he said:

"Britain alert, mutually co-operating with France, stands for civilisation, for a spiritual awakening of Europe, for the overthrow of Kaiserism, militarism, and the capitalistic vandals whose brutal power is now ravishing Europe, and the world itself." ("Reynolds," 9.5.15.)

We are obliged for this information as to Britain's object in unsheathing the sword and letting loose the dogs of war. Especially interesting is the news that we are out for the overthrow of "militarism and the capitalistic vandals." At a time when men are being trained to fight in unprecedented numbers, when the Boy Scouts, Naval Cadets, Church Lads' Brigade and a host of other similar movements are being fostered to a greater extent than ever before, this surely is a novel way of overthrowing militarism and capitalism. Try again, Ben.

* * *

We at one time thought that trade unions existed for the purpose of protecting the interests of their members, but of late they seem to be put to every other use than assisting the workers in their fight against the masters. Now we are informed that an important decision has been reached by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Armaments Committee in reference to bad time-keeping in shipyards and engineering shops. The Committee represents the workers as well as the employers and the Government Departments. The decision referred to is as follows:

"In the case of the union men it is arranged that immediately a case of apparently avoidable bad time-keeping or otherwise hindering the output of Government work is brought to notice, the employer will report to the trade union, who will investigate and, if necessary, fix the fine, which will not exceed £1 for the first offence, £2 for the second, and £3 for the third offence, the last-mentioned coupled with immediate discharge." ("Daily News & Leader," 17.5.15.)

* * *

During the latter part of last year the papers proclaimed, amidst a great flourish of trumpets, that the Board of Trade had announced their intention to entertain applications for the payment from the Exchequer during the present emergency, of special grants to voluntary associations which provide benefits for their unemployed members, subject to certain conditions. The rate of the grant will be determined by the amount of the levy. In the case of one union paying unemployment benefit, we are informed that the emergency grant cannot any longer be continued by the Treasury. This appears to be continued by the Treasury.

Is the "B.C. Federationist" aware of these facts or is it because its policy is as confusional and illogical as that of the I.L.P. that it wishes to put that Party on the back?

Since the last issue of the Socialist Standard, the complete official report of the I.L.P. Conference has been published and a few points not dealt with elsewhere may be mentioned for the benefit of our B.C. comrade.

The report of the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. claims in one paragraph a year of firm adherence to principle on the part of the membership. Since by this is meant Socialist principle, however, it is flatly contradicted further on in the same report, for another paragraph says:

"Certain members of the I.L.P. have taken part in the recruiting campaign, and we have received resolutions of protest from some branches. While recognising that such matters as enlistment and the urging of recruiting are matters for the individual conscience, we felt it desirable to draw attention to our recommendation that no part in the recruiting cam-

WHERE THE I.L.P. STANDS.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF THE "BRITISH COLUMBIA FEDERATIONIST."

o.o—

The editorial of last month exposed the claim made by the chairman of the Independent Labour Party Conference that every other political party had mobilised its forces to justify the war and glorify Great Britain's share in it. But now the "British Columbia Federationist" chants a variant on the same theme.

In its issue of April 23rd it says:

"As far as one can see, the only political party in Europe of any size or importance, which is in a logical position to-day, is the British Independent Labour Party. Whether its attitude is right or wrong is not the point. It has opposed increased armaments before the war. It opposed the proposal to go into the war. And it has consistently opposed it since it began."

The phrase "only political party in Europe" indicates the unconsidered nature of the statement. If there is anything in it at all why should America be excluded? For the rest, our column give proof of the complete falsity of the assertion.

The I.L.P. position is not, and never was logical. And with regard to the question of armaments, its spokesmen and delegates were justly denounced by Ledebour of the German party at the Copenhagen International Conference in 1910.

When dealing with the anti-war resolution, and Keir Hardie's amendment recommending the general strike to prevent war, Ledebour said:

"I deny the right of moving such a resolution to anyone who in his own country supports the Budget. I deny this right, consequently, above all to our English comrades who, by their support of the Budget, place the weapons in the hands of their masters the weapons which later on they can use for purposes of war. How can they take the liberty of proposing the general strike to the parties of other countries who are far more anti-militarist than they happen to be? So long as they support the Budget and supply arms, let them not bring forward more extreme proposals than ourselves."

This sufficiently indicates the sincerity of the I.L.P.'s opposition to armaments. That the I.L.P. is not Socialist is shown by its object, which is essentially State Capitalism; it is further illustrated by its long program of capitalist reform proposals, while it is undeniably demonstrated by its repudiation of the vital principle of the class war.

The I.L.P. is affiliated to the Labour Party, which is a mere adjunct of the Governmental party. Its Parliamentary representatives are leading lights in the House of Commons. The Labour Party as a whole, and several I.L.P. members of Parliament in particular, are at present engaged in stamping the country in the capitalist interest.

Is the "B.C. Federationist" aware of these facts or is it because its policy is as confusional and illogical as that of the I.L.P. that it wishes to put that Party on the back?

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"No one who, on August 3rd last in the House of Commons, listened to Sir Edward Grey's account of the relations between Great

Britain, should be taken by branches of the Party."

Obviously the only war in which a Socialist may voluntarily engage, is the war against the capitalist class. To engage, without economic or political compulsion, in the other war for the benefit of the capitalist class of this country, and above all, to engage in a recruiting campaign as these "labour leaders" are doing, is to betray the worker, and violate the fundamental principle of Socialism.

But mark what subtle and "logical" minds these reformers have! To urge recruiting for the capitalist army in against Socialist principle, but everything is quite all right so long as you break Socialist principle as individuals and not as a branch of the Party! Is the "B.C. Federationist" really an admirer of such logic when it refers to the "logical position" of the I.L.P., or is it pulling our leg?

Traitors in every camp, indeed, would welcome this I.L.P. logic with a great shout. The trade union official may henceforth sell the workers he is pledged and paid to serve, and proffer as a sufficient excuse that he betrayed them as an individual and not as an official of the union. Individual members may vote for, support, and fight for, the capitalist class, say in effect the I.L.P. executive, for that is a matter for the "individual conscience," but they "recommend" that such action be not taken by "branches of the Party." Could fatuity go further?

Bruce Glasier is on the same tack. He said: "that the N.A.C. had endeavoured to make quite clear the position of the Party. They said that as a Socialist organisation the I.L.P. could not recruit, nor could a man recruit as a Socialist. If a man recruited he did so as an Englishman or a Scot. They had dissociated the Party from the political recruiting campaign, but they had left it to every member to recruit if he thought well to do so, and, if he thinks it his duty, to ask his neighbour to recruit."

Truly the position of the I.L.P. is as clear, and as consistent, as mud.

Here is another sample. In the "unanimous declaration" issued by the conference of "Socialists" of allied nations, at which I.L.P. delegates were present and voted, there occurs the following statement regarding the present war: that the Socialists are "inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved."

Again Bruce Glasier stepped into the breach with the talismanic logic of the I.L.P. when some delegates protested. He said that

"the members of the I.L.P. who were present at the gathering were not there as representing the Party, but as members of the International Bureau."

So there you are again.

Delegate Johnson at the Conference "said he was not altogether for, nor altogether against the resolution" approving the policy of the N.A.C. "What was the policy of the N.A.C.? He had asked several members of the N.A

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OURSELVES AND THE
S. L. P. OF AMERICA.
—o—

It will be remembered that, in recent issues of this journal, we have had occasion to defend, with such vigour as we have at command, the Socialist position against the insidious attack of a certain organisation in America which is seeking to exploit the break-down of the "International" in the present European crisis as a weapon to use against Socialist organisation.

In the "Weekly People" (New York) dated May 1st appears a so-called answer to our criticism. As on the previous occasion when the organ of the Socialist Labour Party of America was moved to defend itself against our attack, it does so by dodging every point brought against it, and by trying to hide under a mere repetition of its throw-away assertions and a cloud of cheap ridicule. Not one of the several arguments directed against the S.L.P. of A. is fairly and squarely met. They are dismissed in three-lines as "misquotations, misrepresentations, and misinterpretations," thus being conveniently vanquished by a trio of lies.

It is not to be wondered at that those who speak for the S.L.P. of A. are afraid to tackle our arguments, afraid to correct our "misquotations," to smash our "misrepresentations," to expose our "misinterpretations." To attempt to do so would promptly land them on the "tanglefoot." An "argument" like the following ("Weekly People," May 1st) is the highest they can rise to:

"1.—Socialism means industrial government.
"2.—Industrial government implies . . . the wiping out of the Political State."

"3.—The wiping out of . . . political departments and sub departments.

"4.—The wiping out of political departments implies the coming into existence of industrial departments. . . . industrial government comes into being."

The fourth, it is seen brings them back to their second, and then they are forced to go the round again and again till the moon turns green, and without ever getting any "forwarder." We shall be saved from all such giddy whirling!

We have not the slightest intention here to go over the old ground again. The "Weekly People," as befits the organ of weakly people, shirk our arguments under cover of charges which they cannot substantiate with even the merest trace of evidence. But it is they who are forced to descend to misrepresentation, as we shall show.

Those who know the history of our party, or who have studied our literature, know very well

that we have always insisted that the working class must organise both politically and economically. We have never shifted our ground upon that point. Yet the "Weekly People" persist in raising against us the argument that a movement is, "if organised politically only, in no position to put through the demands of Socialism," and complete their misrepresentation by declaring after this: "We meet the 'Standard's' issue squarely."

The S.L.P. of A. can raise no issue with us on that point. If they or their spokesman wish to meet us squarely they have got to support Industrial Unionism against economic organisation on class lines on the one hand, and un-class-conscious organisation against class-conscious organisation on the other. That is the position if our American opponents wish to come to grips—which they do not.

Now let us take the "Weekly People's" latest statements and see what they amount to. The first of the numbered assertions they fling at our heads is:

"1.—Socialism means industrial government—the working class to manage the industries in its own behalf, of course."

What interpretation are we to place upon this which will not draw down upon us the charge of misinterpretation? We can only see that "industrial government" means control by industries, while the "working class to manage the industries" means just what it says. This brings us to the topsy-turvy position that the industries (or those engaged in them) are to govern the class—the parts are to govern the whole! This is curious, but that it is the only possible interpretation is shown by the fact that it fits in with the whole S.L.P. case. For instance, their resolution to the Stuttgart International Congress declared that "the correct form of the economic organisation (industrial unionism) is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." So future society is not to take the form of one organic whole, with a single interest, and for whose well-being industries exist. On the contrary, its unit is to be the industry, society is to exist for the industry, the industry is to govern. "The parliament of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land" ("Weekly People," May 7th) because "no one man can represent the varied interests of the different industries which are found within a given territory" (S.L.P. of A.'s Address on the European War). Everywhere confirmation of the interpretation we have put upon our opponent's declaration that "Socialism means industrial government."

We hold that Socialism means nothing of the kind. To say that "industrial unionism is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society" is to make a statement that in itself is unintelligible. One has to interpret it. If it means that future society is to shape itself upon or grow out of industrial unionism (and if it does not mean this it is mere chaotic babbling) then it is easily shown to be wrong. It denies the fundamental basis of Socialism, which is common ownership of the means of production and distribution. It is from this common ownership that future society will shape itself, and therefore it will shape itself on social lines, not on industrial lines. Common ownership is the stable condition of democratic society; industrial division is not necessarily so. There is no direct evidence that, with the improvement in the means of production, the "artificial barriers" of industry—division of the people into workers in specific industries—will not be wiped out. Be this as it may, man will take his place in future society as a social cell—as he does in present society—not as an industrial unit. His position as an equal with the other social cells will be vouchsafed by his right in common ownership, not his standing as an industrial unit. He might be incapable of taking any part in industry, and what would be his standing under "industrial government" then? His needs as a social cell will be of paramount importance—not his needs as an industrial unit. This must necessarily translate itself into social needs—the needs of society.

What, then, becomes of the statement that "Socialism means industrial government"? What, indeed, becomes of the whole Industrial Unionist argument?—for it all rests upon the

fallacy that the society of the future will be subservient to the industries—that industrial man will be superior to social man—that the means will be greater than the end.

For industrial division can only be a means to an end. That end under common ownership will be the utmost efficiency in the satisfaction of the social needs. When, therefore, the S.L.P. of A. say that "the parliament of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land," presumably because, as they say elsewhere, "no one man can represent the varied interests of the different industries which are found in a given territory," they are in effect declaring that in the future society industries will not exist in the social interest, but in the interest of those occupied in them!

As being closely connected with the same train of argument we may take the statement numbered 4 in a different section of the reply to our attack:

"As political units, furthermore, the working class is not conversant with the needs of industry,—'citizens' as such do not understand the problems of industry; an industrial unit the working class is thoroughly at home in those affairs."

The truth is, of course, that future society will demand that the highest consideration be the needs of society, not of industry. It is as social units that the people will understand the social needs. The industrial unit, whatever he may know, as such, of the problems of industry, knows nothing of the needs of society. Society will therefore set him to solve the "problems of industry," but it will be society that will control.

Another point. Our opponents say: "Such is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, with its piping for 'class conscious' organisation only, and laying its all upon the political Movement." Apart from the lie that the S.P.G.B. lays its all on the political Movement, the statement contains a sneer at class-conscious organisation that definitely reveals its anti-Socialist character. Earlier in the same article we are told: "And yet class-consciousness by no means teaches the working class anything about the facts of industrial organisation as here outlined." This is a plea or a justification for an unclassconscious organisation on the economic plane. But class-consciousness—the knowledge of the working-class position in society and the working-class mission—does teach that it is just as necessary for the class moving toward their object on the economic field to do so intelligently and with understanding—class consciously, that is—as it is for them to be so fitted and equipped on the political field.

Now to get back to the original point—the reason of the collapse of the International. Our American opponents say in their leading article of May 1st, that such movement should have presented the ruling "classes," when war was threatened, with "scores to settle at home with the working classes instead of being permitted to send those working classes abroad against each other."

We have pointed out before now that part of the programme of the International was to take just such action as that indicated above. Without prejudice to our right to criticise such policy we ask, why was no attempt made to carry it out? Something was lacking. What was it?

Let the "Weekly People" answer:

"To allow of a movement doing that, however, it must be educated and organised upon a different basis from that which the European Movement was educated and organised upon. None of the false doctrine of nationalism must be allowed to permeate its ranks"

We thank our opponents for that statement. It is so much more satisfactory for them to be condemned out of their own mouths than out of ours. The Movement is to be organised both politically and economically, and, mark this: "None of the false doctrine of nationalism must be allowed to permeate its ranks." That means that we were quite right when we stated that the International collapsed because it was not founded on class-consciousness—for only class-consciousness can banish the "false doctrine of nationalism," by teaching the workers the world-wide unity of interest of their class. It

is so fundamental in our modern civilisation that we hardly think of it as the creation of society, maintained only by constant vigilance on the part of the State, and subject even now to slow and gradual modification. Still less, perhaps, has it ever occurred to most of us that the right is open to question." (Page 9.)

The historical sketch in the early pages of

the work is, despite some glossing over of important facts, surprisingly good both for the amount of information contained in a small space, and for the recognition by the authors of the formation of the capitalist and working classes as a result of the establishment of capitalism, though there is—in contradiction to so much that is accurate—the childish remark on page 28 that Fishing Tribes in the primitive days "naturally form large accumulations of capital"!

The origin of chattel slavery, as a substitute

for cannibalism, when the prisoners of war were put to till the soil instead of being eaten is well dealt with.

When we reach the section dealing with the Industrial Stage several important admissions are made. Thus we are told that "Now we have two distinct industrial classes with interests that seem irreconcilable, and between them is fixed a gulf which in an old Society comparatively few can hope to cross." (P. 44.)

Note the guilelessness of the "seem" in above. We are only too well aware how utterly irreconcilable they are and must be because of their fundamental opposition.

Still more guileless is their further remark that under the present system "the employer has furnished materials and machinery and has assumed the risk of loss. He must be paid." (Page 45.)

Where did the employer obtain these "materials and machinery"? He did not construct the latter or wrest the former from Nature's grip. These things were done by members of the working class. Yet the capitalist owns them and "must be paid" for allowing other workers to use them. How these things exist and persist we are not told. Perhaps it is one of the points of "more or less disagreement" left for the advanced student. But we are also told that while the modern employer takes all the product he gives the workers "not the actual product of their labour, but a stipulated wage which is represented to be an equivalent." (Ibid.) If the wage is the equivalent of the product whence the amount by which the employer is "paid" for allowing the workers to work? Perhaps it is explained by the fact that the wages are only "represented" to be equal to the product.

This is seen quite clear and simple—as simple, in fact, as the truth that as the working class are the only class applying their powers to production they obviously provide the wealth the masters enjoy. But our authors soon smother this simple fact under a cloud of words, though they reassert their definition on p. 143, when they admit that capital is derived from the "action of labour upon nature."

While giving a chapter on the "Law of Diminishing Returns" in quite the orthodox style, the writers of the book admit that "The art of agriculture is constantly improving as a result of invention and the discovery of better methods and processes, and every improvement makes it possible to secure a greater crop without greater expenditure; in other words, *every such improvement pushes forward the point of diminishing returns.*" (Page 148.) What value there is in this precious "law" in face of such an admission is quite beyond the power of any orthodox economist to explain.

Another hoary "chestnut" is trotted out when our authors are dealing with the factor of labour in production. We are told: "labour-saving devices, while they may injure individual labourers, are beneficial to society as a whole, because they enable it to secure greater satisfaction by the same exertion." (Page 150.) See how true all this is. The workers have the satisfaction of securing shoddy more rotten than before, or foodstuffs more heavily adulterated, while the capitalists have larger profits for their "satisfaction." Hence the benefit to "society as a whole."

In defining "capital" our authors give us another instance of the old errors restated, for it is said that capital consists of "those intermediate products which are used for the purpose of further production." (Page 155.) As Marx pointed out long ago in his "Wage Labour and Capital," this definition is as good as the one describing a Negro slave as "a man of the black race." For if the definition is correct, then capital has existed ever since man used any implement to aid him in obtaining a living. Then capital existed in the days of primitive savagery! But how comes it, if this is so, that "Now we have two distinct industrial classes"? The two statements cannot both be correct, for the one clearly contradicts the other. Not until, and only when, the means of production are owned by one class and used to extract surplus-value from the labour power of the other class do these means of production become capital, and no other definition will stand analysis on anything approaching scientific lines.

Another childish fallacy is the one borrowed from Bohm-Bawerk that the function of capital is "the substitution of roundabout methods of

production for direct ones" and that "Roundabout methods are almost without exception more efficient than direct ones, but these methods require tools and machinery and a lengthened period of production." Here we have not only a fallacy, but a contradiction, for if the method means a "lengthened period of production" how can it be "more efficient"? Its glaring stupidity is shown by the fact that goods of all sorts are turned out to-day in enormous quantities, at amazing speed, in all directions. The "period of production" for each article or unit of quantity has not been lengthened, but tremendously shortened, but it takes a "professor" of economics to beat the bat in blindness.

A great display is made of the valuable qualities (!) of the "Entrepreneur" or "Captain of Industry," whose function we are told on page 164 "has become of the utmost importance in modern society, and seems to be growing with every increase in the complexity of industrial organisation"; while on page 165 we read: "On account of the magnitude of business transacted under this form [of business companies] it often happens that the functions of entrepreneurship are divided, the shareholders owning, controlling, and bearing the risk, but committing the active management to elected directors, and, through the directors, to hired superintendents and managers." (Italics mine.) Apparently the "utmost importance" of the "entrepreneur" (these French words sound so superior, you know) consists in his ability to be "hired," like any other wage-slave.

Another useful admission is made by our authors when dealing with the advantages of the division of labour. They say: "It has therefore happened that a large proportion of modern inventions have come from the brains of workmen." (Page 171.) But it is on the subject of Value that the greatest confusion prevails, and necessarily so, as a clear understanding of this factor demolishes all the claims of the capitalist to his "interest" and "profit."

Firstly we are told that two distinct but closely related ideas of Value are named "subjective value" and "objective value"; then that "utility is the power to satisfy wants," while "subjective value is the power to excite desire" and is determined by being "utility under a condition of scarcity." (Page 100.) Also we are told that "objective value, or exchange value, is simple . . . it is the quantitative ratio in which goods or services are exchanged" (*ibid.*). Quite simple. But how is it determined? Here we are at once in a fog. We are asked to look at a market where eight buyers meet eight sellers and where the buyers have one range of prices and the sellers another. After juggling the sixteen persons and their prices round once or twice we reach the conclusion that "the market price is an equilibrium between the existing state of the supply and the existing state of demand." (Page 190.) Charmingly simple! The market price is the price prevailing in the market. It would take a bold person to deny the profound truth of this, though an ignorant man may ask what decides the point of equilibrium when supply and demand are equal.

Some attempt is made to skim over this awkward point in dealing with "cost of production," when the question is put: "Why cannot bakers, for example, sell bread for much less than sixpence a loaf?" There are two possible answers: They might in some cases prefer to be idle rather than work for less, or they might feel that they were sacrificing the opportunity of making something else for which there are wants equally urgent." (Pages 191, 192.)

This is vague enough, and the further analysis as to the costs forming the margin of production is no clearer. We are told that the "greatest" or "marginal cost of producing that supply which will be in equilibrium with the existing demand" (p. 194) is the determining factor in freely-produced goods, and finally we reach the definition that "value is determined on the side of demand by the marginal utility, and on the side of supply by the marginal cost of production." (Page 199.) This is the last word on Value in general. How "marginal utility" can be compared with "marginal costs of production" we are not told—for the simple reason that it is impossible to compare such things in a measurable manner.

The old confusion between use-value (or utility) and value (or exchange value) is still as glaring as ever, though further confused by the jargon of "marginal" this and "marginal" that so beloved of Marshall and the Fabians. Nor are we given any analysis, however elementary, of the "costs of production," though some "frictional elements" are briefly considered. And wisely do our authors avoid analysis. A correct analysis, even if very brief—such as Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit"—would be too enlightening to the wage slaves, and so must be avoided or fogged.

Monopolies are handled rather carefully which is not at all surprising in a book which was originally written for America, where the latest thing in monopoly, the Trust, flourishes and controls—the statement that "all intellectual achievements are in part a social product" (p. 201) may be used either to defend capitalist society against the monopolist, or, on the other hand, to defend the Trust or monopolist against the inventor.

The question of Money is fairly well dealt with from the Gold Standard point of view, though the usual chaos as to the "value" of money is maintained. J. F. (We are compelled to hold over the completion of this review.)

("Where the I.L.P. Stands"—Continued).

Britain and France could "search his heart" as Sir Edward Grey invited his hearers to do, and come to any other conclusion than the one Sir Edward himself announced as being his own conclusion, viz., that Great Britain was bound in honour to go to war if France were dragged into war by her alliance with Russia."

"It has been said that the I.L.P. holds the view that, notwithstanding the circumstances binding Great Britain to France and France to Russia, the Government ought to have declared for neutrality; I do not accept this statement as a correct representation of the position of the I.L.P. For my part, at all events, I agree that the Government was in honour bound by its secret understanding with France to declare for intervention."

That is how the I.L.P. opposes the war!

It was also stated at the Conference that the following sentence in the declaration of Socialists of allied nations was inserted at the instance of Mr. Ramsey Macdonald, who is an I.L.P. Member of Parliament:

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German Armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe."

Nor is this all. A plain resolution pledging the I.L.P. to opposition to any capitalist war failed to obtain the support of the delegates at their conference and had to be shelved, to save appearances, by means of the "previous question."

One delegate opposed it because, if adopted by the I.L.P.,

"it would weaken its general criticisms of the Government and of foreign policy. The public would accept the Party as holding a certain philosophy, and would not pay serious attention to its propaganda."

This delegate is probably correct. By the adoption of such resolutions his party might be suspected by the powers that be of being really Socialists. That would never do. Their boasted influence with the Government, their flow of legacies from maiden ladies, as well as their Nonconformist and Liberal support, would suddenly fail them.

Verily, with all due respect to the opinion of the "B.C. Federationist," it is quite certain that the logic of the I.L.P. is a negative quantity, and that the consistency of its policy is only discovered in the persistence with which it has, since its formation, violated the Socialist principle and betrayed the working class.

The facts demonstrate that The Socialist Party, during the present crisis, as in the past, is the only party in this country to maintain the logical and consistent Socialist position and policy. Will the "B.C. Federationist" please note?

F. C. W.

A LOOK ROUND.

At a time when the capitalist Press—Liberal and Tory alike—are engaged in a stupendous campaign for the purpose of obtaining likely recruits to assist in the slaughter of their fellows on the Continent, it is somewhat refreshing to take a peep into the dim and distant past. Before unearthing a few extracts from our masters' periodicals, it is well to keep in mind the various adverts, which we see all around us: "Your king and country need you"; "Is your conscience clear?"; "What will you say when your boy asks what part you took in the great war?" etc. To-day, as always, the workers are vitally necessary to the master class, and so we find their paid agents and hangers-on using every device to enlist the support of the workers to crush the German hordes."

A few years ago when conscription was "in the air" a radical paper devoted a leading article to the subject, half a column of which was occupied in stating that this form of military service was abominable to the working man. Knowing the short memory of the average "horny-handed son of toil," let us quote fully:

"The conditions of life among British workers precludes them from taking any interest in their country. Their whole time is spent in making sufficient money to keep them alive. Millions of them number exist on the edge of the abyss of pauperism. During this exceptionally prosperous year there have never been less than 300,000 men and women out of work . . . Men, women—and children, too, to our eternal shame—are awed nearly to death in factories for wages which do not provide them with a sufficient quantity of the actual necessities of life. Luxuries they dare not dream about. Under our present system, workers' lives are wasted as recklessly as they are ever wasted on the field of battle. A shunter on the railway runs thirteen times more risks than a soldier did in the South African campaign. In 1911 there were 4,306 workmen killed and 167,000 injured. [This in the piping time of peace.] Ponder on these figures and then try to imagine what the average workman who daily runs the risk of losing his life or limbs must think when he is asked to vote for compulsory military service, so that he may help to repel a foreign invader. No, it will not do. This cry of foreign invasion does not rouse democracy. The democrat thinks of past wars and wonders what he got out of them. The duty of British Statesmen to day is . . . to make life worth living for the millions who now exist under sordid or horrible conditions of poverty and filth. Physical degeneration is due . . . to the long hours, the unhealthy surroundings, the congestion of towns, and the steady drain on the stamina of the people due to woman and child labour. Let the Government alter these conditions, give the worker an opportunity to enjoy a decent, rational, human life, make it worth his while and then see whether he is prepared to defend his country."—Reynolds, Dec. 1, 1912.

The foregoing is an illustration of the fact that our masters occasionally permit the truth to leak out. More brutally stated it is an admission of the truth of our contention that the average worker has no property to defend, nor any country to call his own. He is born a wage-slave and dies as such. From early years, when he delivers the milk or the morning newspapers, onwards to the time when he is informed that he is too old, he sees but very little of "our" country of which we now hear so much. The delights of our 20th century civilisation are to be found in early rising, a dash for the workers' tram or train, then to perform some monotonous round of toil, finishing up with another struggle to return to the "cottage homes of England," and on the way getting a glimpse of "our" country.

Our radical rag-time journalist says: "The democrat thinks of past wars and wonders what he got out of them," and we have wondered, too. We remember having seen a monument with the inscription: "Soldiers, your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour, will not be forgotten by a grateful country." But what are the actual facts. We

June, 1915.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

have before us a collection of Press cuttings, all of a similar character, one of which states that:

"Wearing the Indian Mutiny medal and minus an eye, George Goldsby, aged 84, . . . told a pathetic story of his sufferings. 'You are not very well off now?' suggested Dr. Waldo. And the old soldier silently acquiesced. 'Were you wounded at all?' 'Yes, Sir; four times.' 'I suppose a grateful country has rewarded you. What pension do you get?' 'Ninepence a day, Sir.' The coroner proceeded to enquire how the old man was faring, and the pensioner said that, having paid his rent, he had 4d. a day left of his pension. He augmented this by selling matches. . . . The coroner (to the jury): 'I should think a grateful country should have provided a comfortable home for an old Mutiny veteran like this.'—Reynolds," 15.11.14.

During the recent discussion on pensions and allowances our masters' servants in the House gave us an opportunity of measuring their gratefulness to their heroes and their dependents. "He (Mr. Bonar Law) thought it would be unwise and against the interests of the women themselves to endow widows with so much of the public money that they would never have to work." He added, "that after the war every position in employment for which an ex-soldier is suitable shall be given to an ex-soldier." Mr. Asquith delivered himself of the following: "He thought it would be unwise to create a class of persons who could live in ease without ever having to work." Such is the generosity of those who prate about their patriotism. The capitalist class may, in certain directions, find some employment for the ex-soldier with a view to enriching themselves at his expense, as a result of the slight pension which he may be entitled to receive.

With a view to hastening the day when war shall be no more, and peace and plenty shall abound for all, we invite our fellow-workers of this and other lands to study Socialism.

S. W. T.

A PARTY OUTING.

On June 12th, 1904, a few members of the working class, recognising the need for a Socialist party as distinct from those organisations then in existence and claiming to represent Socialism in this country, met together and formed the Socialist Party of Great Britain and gave the grand old men of the pseudo Socialist movement, those who had "borne the heat and burden of the day," an opportunity of exercising their powers of prophecy. After weighty consideration they decided that the Party would not live six months. But, like most of their most learned utterances, they were wrong, and now, after eleven years of strenuous exertion, in the midst of the most frightful upheaval that capitalist society has seen, the Party stands forth as the only organization in this country that has consistently placed the Socialist position before the working class.

This is, indeed, an event that calls for some recognition, and were it not for the fact that our opponents—the master class—have smothered our ordinary political meetings, we should endeavour to utilise the date for a number of meetings at which those toilers who are with us in the fight for Socialism could celebrate the event and announce their determination to proceed with the task undertaken in 1904.

Unfortunately this is denied us, but while yet the columns of the "Socialist Standard" are open to us our readers may be assured that the interests of International Socialism and the international working class will be put forward unflinchingly.

In order that the event may not be forgotten, those members who are able to do so will meet together and spend a day in the country on Sunday, June 13th. All who wish to join us should get into touch immediately with the local Secretary or the Committee at 193, Grays Inn Road.

It is in such times as this that we realize more forcibly than ever how wide is the gulf between ourselves and the "orthodox," and how necessary association is to serve us for the fight that is before us.

THE COMMITTEE.

THE ONE VIRILE CLASS.

It is fairly safe to assume that never before in the history of the civilised world has such a profusion of literary slosh been printed as during the present period of human slaughter. The worker is, on one hand, lauded to the skies as a very fine fellow and on the other, roundly cursed as a drunkard and slacker. Thousands of letters bristling with puerility find place in the Press dutifully heaping up the gigantic confusion already created by their professional brethren. Hundreds of oratorical geniuses—so-called—find free expression for their doubtful eloquence; reports of their speeches being eagerly devoured by those whose mental equilibrium, never at any time strong, collapsed quite early—or under the extraordinary avalanche. To quote from such mountains of piffle extensively would serve no useful purpose, indeed, it might quite easily lay the present writer open to affront, but no actual apology is needed in introducing just one extract from the "London Mail," dated Nov. 3rd, 1914. It reads: "I suppose foreigners will never quite understand the incurable habit that our soldiers and sailors have of persisting in believing even this frightful war as the biggest bit of fun they have ever enjoyed." The advocates of compulsory military service are having the time of their lives in proving the essential truth of the dictum that "old men love to give good advice because they are no longer in the position to set a worse example."

Doubtless many of "our State pensioners," as Mr. L. George terms them, who left the "house" to spend the evening of their days in the "chimney-corner" will now have to choose between starvation and the house.

pseudo-Socialist and labour politicians, we stand now patiently working our way along the road that leads to the Red International.

B. B. B.

JOTTINGS.

Only a short while ago we were constantly informed that our heaven-sent Liberal Party were cutting a new road for the aged poor—"through fields of waving corn." In this connection we notice that Mr. Bowerman, M.P., is in favour of an increase on the present allowance to old-age pensioners as they are "hit by the war on everything they buy." He further states that "a question was addressed to the Prime Minister, but, I regret, his reply was by no means favourable . . . The expense to the State is pointed to as a reason for rejecting the claim."

Doubtless many of "our State pensioners," as Mr. L. George terms them, who left the "house" to spend the evening of their days in the "chimney-corner" will now have to choose between starvation and the house.

* * *

The military pickle now being served up should be the means of arresting the attention of the workers and giving them food for thought. In spite of declarations of truce various sections of the master class are engaged in attacking one another. This reminds us of the old adage, "When thieves fall out," &c.

One organ of the masters, in waxing wrath over the question of recruits, and particularly with regard to the age limit being extended to 40, tells us in a moment of candour that:

"One of the first acts of the Coalition Government must be to remove the present unjust system of obtaining expensive recruits by telling the right kind of man that he must come to his country's aid."—Daily Mail, 22.5.15.

The "D.M." is, of course, concerned with the £ a. d. part of the business, hence the words "expensive recruits." For we are previously told that "most men of that age (40) are married, and married men ought not to be asked to go to the front while the young slackers and shirkers are left untouched. Hark, ye, my single brethren, your masters want cheap recruits!"

* * *

From another source we cull the following: "There is no room for deadheads. We have suffered long enough for those that we have, and they must be quietly and effectively dropped." The leader we have got [Asquith] the 'brains' must be found.—Reynolds, 23.5.15.

We could hardly go further ourselves.

* * *

We have from time to time referred to the poverty of the working class and to their heroic endeavour to exist in this happy Christian land. That this poverty condition is consequent upon the private ownership of the means of life is seldom seriously challenged. Sometimes our critics think we are apt to exaggerate this poverty. In view of this we, therefore, welcome the following with reference to the Clyde engineers:

"Many of the workmen are drawing bigger pay than they ever did in their lives before, and are able to command luxuries which they could not afford before the war."—(Sunday Chronicle, 23.5.15.)

No, we don't think luxuries are the ordinary lot of the Clyde engineers.

S. W. T.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 18 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE:**
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.**BRANCH DIRECTORY.**

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Speacial-std., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-std., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-std., Mile End, where branch meets 1st & 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 80, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13, Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 205 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., Geo. Richman, 3 Cooper's Row, Northfleet.

ELFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Sec., c/o F. P. Edwards, 210 West End-std. W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30. 104 Mavern-rd., W. Kilburn.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-std., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82, Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at above address.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-std., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sun. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Chesserian, 189, Portman-std., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portman Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets every Monday at 8.30. at Pilkingtons, Peckham Rye.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-std., Southend-on-Sea Branch meets alt. Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6, Hermitage-std., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-std., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-std., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open only on Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-std. Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-std.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-std. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 489, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-std., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
22 FLORENCE STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME,
for particulars as to joining, etc.

The "Socialist Standard" and all other Party literature may also be had from the above.

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"Weekly People" (New York).

"Gaelic American" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).

"Civil Service Socialist" (London).

"Freedom" (London).

"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).

"International News Letter" (Berlin).

"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).

"The Socialist" (Melbourne).

"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL ISAMUELS, prospective

Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

Post free 1½d.

June, 1915.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY**OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

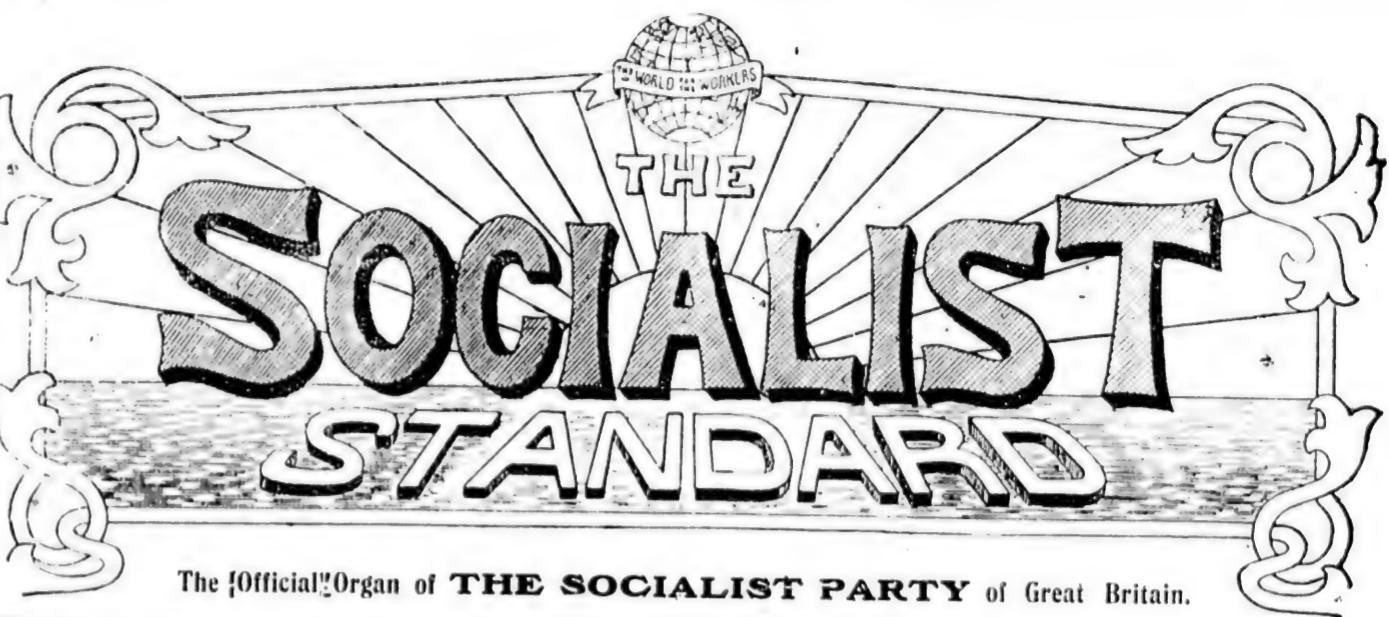
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LONDON, JULY, 1915

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

HOPE AND FEAR.

A PHILOSOPHOLQUE.

Is a collection of sermons issued something like a generation ago, entitled: "Is Life Worth Living?" Dr. Clifford, the Baptist divine, used these words (pp. 3-4, 7th ed.)

"It is not altogether a satisfactory social symptom that such a question has urged itself forward into our discussions in these later years. When a man begins to listen to the beatings of his heart, or asks the physician to apply the stethoscope to test the motions of his lungs, it is very likely there is something wrong with him. . . . And when men coldly speculate as to whether 'life is worth living,' we may be sure that is ominous of wide-spread despair of the means of human satisfaction."

Coming from a professional optimist these words are significant, and thirty years have added to rather than detracted from the force of their application. Well might we ask the hackneyed question when millions of the "youth and hope" of civilization rush in frenzy into the jaws of Death. Bright indeed is the philosophy that can carry us in confidence through a reign of terror.

Optimism or pessimism, which? To the average mind to-day, nurtured in metaphysical habits of thought (glossed over, may be, by the superficial "dialectic" of the modern idealist school) there appears to be no alternatives but these, according to which either Good or Evil (note capitals are predominant in human affairs and the universe generally). So it is that, when the monstrous fantasies on which we are from childhood invited to build our hopes have been dispelled by ruthless experience, there seems nothing left but blank despair in the face of overwhelming circumstance—unless in the process of disillusionment new habits of mind have been acquired, and the facts of life more deeply analysed.

Optimism is defined by the dictionary as "the doctrine that everything is ordered for the best"; but what is "the best"? And what power is capable of ordering "everything" thereto? Any real standard of "good" or "the best" must be relative to certain particular circumstances of some particular person or persons; and as there are fundamental differences in the circumstances of various persons, so there are radical distinctions in views of what is good or otherwise. To a firm of armament manufacturers war is a blessing; to countless working-class households it is a source of deepest misery. Almighty, indeed, must be the power which can reconcile this contradiction alone, to omit the mention of innumerable others.

There are, of course, people capable of asserting that in the Divine plan of existence the experience of the sufferers is of inestimable moral value; others even go the length of deeming it purely illusory—a figment of carnal sense. But

it is a curious fact that the said sufferers seem to be the last to appreciate these spiritual truths. Shortage of provisions produces an uncountably painful sensation in the alimentary canal while so sentimental are some humans that the sight of a relation maimed, or the knowledge of his death, is even known to cause unbidden tears to rise.

Nevertheless we are told that "It is easy enough to be happy when life goes along like a song; but the man worth while is the man who will smile when everything goes dead wrong." Unable to destroy the popular consciousness of evil, optimists profess to regard the deliberate cultivation of cheerfulness as a virtue. Carrying this mental attitude to its logical conclusion the working class should grin at a colliery explosion or a railway smash, and find a source of amusement generally in the myriad every-day afflictions the existing order of things compels them to bear. Indeed, the only form of optimism which recognises the necessity of providing something more than this absurdity for working-class supporters is the frankly religious, which offers death as the true solution of all human woes. For God and Immortality we can know nothing until we are stripped of the limitations of mortal sense, and in these alone, according to the creed, is happiness possible. "All's well that ends well," says the old saw, and assuming the truth of supernatural creeds any amount of suffering is simply part of the Divine plan of ordering everything for the best.

This brings us to a consideration of pessimism. The advance of modern science has had a two-fold effect. On the one hand it has vastly increased the poverty of the producing class and the wealth of those who own the improved means of wealth production; on the other it has destroyed to a large extent the hold upon the mass of society of the supernatural creeds, which, as above indicated, "justify" the optimistic view of life. Hence with "this world" getting more unsatisfactory and "the next" vanishing into thin air, there has arisen a systematic philosophy of unbelief and despair.

That it is not popular with the ruling class is due to two causes: first, it contradicts their experience of life; secondly, it is, at least implicitly, a condemnation of capitalism. A closer examination of pessimism, however, shows it to be based upon the same sort of illusion as optimism, i.e., the attribution of universality and absolute permanence to a tendency which is only characteristic of certain peculiar conditions in time and space.

Because there are external forces whose operations, at present uncontrolled by society, work havoc in the lives of the greater part of mankind, it is fallaciously assumed that this always has and always will be the case. According to this creed, the human race is in the grip

of a relentless Fate, whether personal or otherwise we know not, which automatically shatters every hope and mocks at all efforts. Yet the very process of scientific progress in industry gives the lie to this gloom which it produces. It is human genius that brings into being the contrivances for controlling and adapting the forces of nature to human ends. Blind fate cannot resist the ever-increasing encroachment of the torch of knowledge, and once the laws of the operations of the external forces are correctly understood it is but a step to the use of these forces. Harmony with one's environment is the source of happiness; the free and successful exercise of the faculties terms every joy. In so far, then, as the mass of mankind, i.e., the working class, find "life a burden," we must seek the cause in some antagonism between their desires and the conditions wherein they are expected to satisfy them.

The first and fundamental desire of mankind, the working class included, is food. Activity demands energy, which in turn requires raw material. The source of raw material is external nature. In man's environment to-day by no means consists of nature, pure and simple; social man has built up an intermediate world of objects which are, in a sense, extensions of his faculties for obtaining sustenance from nature—means of production; social organs.

This half human, half natural development has its own laws which must be understood by mankind before their action can be directed to the advantage of all. Otherwise our creation will be our master—in fact, this is exactly the position at the present day. The working class have developed the means of production, but the control thereof is not theirs. The sciences of nature and of man as independent objects have become widely understood, but the science of man's adaptation of nature has yet to be mastered by the bulk of mankind to whom it matters.

This follows from the fact that while the forces of nature exist from time immemorial, the specific economic forces have only within recent years reached maturity. The past two centuries have witnessed an enormous change in the scale of man's control of nature. Production has become manifestly social in character; but as yet mankind blinks the fact, and makes no attempt to control production on scientific, i.e., social, lines. Private property in the means of production, a survival of the petty, immature stage of economic development, causes the social nature of these things to manifest itself through competition, with the result that a few climb up on the backs of the many, turning the very scale of production against the producers, filling their own laps with every luxury and reducing their fellows to poverty.

Thus the working class cannot satisfy a single

one of their desires except by permission of the class that owns. Their lack of unity divorces them from their environment. Their ignorance of its nature leaves them at the mercy of the few who can exploit it. Yet as with Nature so with society, knowledge paves the way to control. Socialism, i.e., the social control of social forces, is the scientific, and therefore the only remedy, for working-class suffering. Once the workers know this it would be absurd to assume they will refuse to act accordingly.

Where then do Optimism and Pessimism come in? What is their practical relation to the Socialist movement? Optimism claims that this is the best of all possible worlds. All apparent pains are but the means by which the all-seeing Father secures our ultimate happiness. To attempt to secure it on our own by a social revolution is both impious and unnecessary. The Lord will provide!

Pessimism, on the other hand, bewails our impotence against the hand of fate. Sorrow and death are on every hand, and external forces are stronger than we; to hope to control them is useless. The deepest desires are but a mockery; for happiness is impossible and an illusion. Socialism? Pooh! If you abolished poverty tomorrow it would reappear the day after.

In short, both creeds accept the capitalist system as inevitable and necessary. Optimism is simply the endeavour of the ruling class to foist their own snug satisfaction with themselves and their system on to their slaves as the only correct opinion and guide of life. It is rejected by all who have passed through the fires and floods of working-class existence and found it horribly wanting in practical comfort even in spite of previous prejudices in its favour.

Pessimism is but the inevitable reaction based on disappointment in optimism; a despair of capitalism coupled with an ignorance of any means of ending it.

It, likewise, is rejected by all who have analysed the conditions of working-class existence discovering that the very forces which in their progress at present accentuate poverty, provide a basis for a system of life in which comfort and happiness shall be the birthright and constant possession of all.

Socialists are well aware that the fulfilment of their object will not abolish the natural pains and penalties of existence. That death must terminate each individual life is a somewhat self-evident proposition; but we see no reason to take refuge in a life beyond the grave as our hope, even though at present the clouds be thick and lowering. Spiritual conceptions from their very nature can have no scientific basis. The very "infinity" of the "faculty" and "object" of faith makes it possible by faith to "believe" anything. The hard facts of existence, however, ultimately prove too strong for such beliefs, no matter how tenaciously they may be held.

But because we reject childish fairy tales of God and Immortality we do not, therefore, abandon all "confidence in the worth and serviceableness of human life" as Dr. Clifford asserted we must (p. 4).

We still find ourselves possessed of faculties and desires which seem to demand a material world for their exercise and satisfaction rather than a spiritual fantastic. The limitations against which we chafe are not those of nature, but rather those which have arisen in history from understandable causes capable of being removed by human action. This accomplished we are confident that our lives will rise to a dignified natural level.

At present we find ourselves hemmed in. Our energies must be prostituted to the class who rule.

Since, then, for the nonce, real life is for us impossible, let us seek expression in revolt; in the conscious and deliberate effort to wrench the power from that class which uses it to our detriment, i.e., the ownership of the means of life, secured by political control. This is our only hope; all else is illusion. E. B.

Propaganda is not dead because outdoor meetings have ceased. The backwash of war is already beginning to surge over the country, and many who were deaf can hear our message now, and many who were blind can see to read the "Socialist Standard." Nuff said.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

Once again the boasted "organising ability" of the master class has been found wanting. After many diverse utterances by politicians and contradictory statements in the Press, a serious shortage of munitions of war in this country is now an acknowledged fact. One leading and influential organ has considerably injured its reputation in certain quarters by coming perilously near telling the truth about the matter. Its readers were much disturbed by such a flagrant departure from its notorious traditions. No doubt some ulterior motive existed for this daring attempt at veracity, but the shock was so unexpected that a large number of the journal's supporters were abashed. The Government very wisely and conveniently collapsed, and the Premier created the office of "Minister of Munitions" in the new Ministry to cover up the muddle. Mr. Lloyd George was appointed to the new post, and his duties suit him admirably. He goes among the munition workers to cajole, insult, or, if necessary, to drive them to increased productivity. Ably assisted by the cringing and hypocritical Trades Union leaders, he is smashing to atoms every vestige of protection the men have been able to secure from the masters. Conditions that have been gained after years of struggling and sacrifice are to be given up. Coupled with the base treachery of the Union leaders, his well-known insidious cunning will probably be sufficient for the success of his mission; but he is fully endowed with the authority to compel the workers to fulfil their masters' requirements. And just reflect for a moment! What are their masters' requirements? Munitions of war. The cumulative efforts of thousands upon thousands of the working class, slaving the maximum possible number of hours at the highest possible speed, are required to produce implements of slaughter. Not something beautiful, something noble; not some luxury. No! To produce instruments of death and destruction for our brothers to hurl against our fellow workers of other lands. How inspiring! How civilised should feel! What a bloody tragedy!

However grim and relentless the tragedy may be, the element of comedy can seldom be denied. Comedy is remarkably persistent, and will find some means of intruding into the situation. The comic relief in this case is provided by a collection of City "toffs" who have formed themselves into what is called the "Volunteer Munitions Brigade." Perhaps, reader, you have not yet heard of this valiant organisation. In that case be assured that the fault is yours entirely, for no opportunity to advertise itself has been missed by the Brigade. Anyway, for the benefit of the uninitiated, the "Volunteer Munitions Brigade" has been formed by a gentleman who is an accountant in the City of London, and its members are mainly recruited from the clerks of the Stock Exchange, Lloyds, Baltic and Insurance Offices. Every Sunday they for sake their collars, cuffs, and spats, don their old clothes, and go to Woolwich Arsenal to make munitions. Of course, although they go to make munitions, it must not be supposed that the Arsenal authorities are such damned fools as to let them try—it is bad enough to send the British soldiers into the field short of ammunition.

One member of the Brigade gives some of his experiences in an interview reported in the "Star and Echo" dated 14.6.15, in which he tells us that the Brigade undertakes the work "ordinarily performed by the more unskilled men and boys." Even though the boys may not possess the requisite mental subtlety, it is to be hoped that the unskilled workmen who would ordinarily be employed will be able to appreciate the patriotic sacrifice and British pluck displayed by these brave fellows who prefer driving them from their positions in the Arsenal to driving Germans from their positions on the battlefield. For, incidentally, it may be mentioned that members of this Brigade are allowed to wear a badge denoting the fact that they are engaged upon Government work, and are therefore ineligible for military service.

The interviewed member further states that his work in the Arsenal "was a fairly hard experience." One cannot help thinking that if

the regular Arsenal worker realised the true calibre of his new "mate," the latter would soon find his experience much harder. It is just possible that the "fairly hard experience" of doing boys' work at Woolwich would soon be regarded as less preferable to the experience in the trenches. We Socialists propagandists know the type of individual of which this precious organisation is composed, too well. He is the snob, the superior person, too respectable to recognise his correct social status. He does not understand that his interests are identical with the interests of all workers. To tell him this is to insult him. He is a master's man from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, and oh! so very, very ignorant. But, after all, he will have to be taught the revolutionary lesson, and will have to learn of his slavery. The task is a tremendous one, fellow workers, so get busy and prepare yourselves! W. H. S.

THE FAILURE OF CO-OPERATION

THE Co-operative lecturer, when discoursing on the advantages and possibilities of his subject, at trade union, temperance, and other meetings, invariably claims that it is a working-class movement, and the only movement that can solve the poverty problem and abolish capitalism. It can accomplish this, he says, by gradually extending its functions until production and distribution are entirely under its control.

Some idea of the ambitious nature of the co-operative scheme may be gathered from the paper read by Mr. Aneurin Williams at the late congress. Among other things, he said "Their policy must be to spread distributive co-operation over the whole country," and again, "The land was the great source of raw materials and the chain of co-operation would be completed in proportion as co-operators made themselves owners of the sources of raw materials." Of course no one doubts the possibility of their opening a co-operative store in every town, village, and hamlet in the country, or even the adequacy of their resources to "judiciously acquire," here and there, land for building and other purposes. But such imperfect measures as these would not satisfy the mildest member of the Co-op.

Co-operators have always maintained that their principles carried to their logical conclusion would abolish the middleman or capitalist, and this claim has been responsible for a great deal of the support they have received from the workers, who, in many instances have bought their necessities at the local stores when they could have bought them cheaper elsewhere; simply because of the principle they believed to be involved.

If the claims of co-operators as to the possibilities of co-operation are wrong, then those who believe in them are being misled, and while perhaps entertaining a strong desire to do something to remedy social evils, their energy and desires are wasted. For this reason it is necessary to examine their claims, and the first thing that strikes us is their inability to employ but a very small percentage of their members. Whether it was in the early days when their numbers were small, or to-day on what, in comparison is a gigantic scale, the fact remains that co-operators cannot shut themselves off from the rest of society and produce and distribute for themselves, independent of the capitalists around them. They are dependent at the very outset upon the vast majority of their members being employed in the factories and mines of the capitalist, these, of course, merely constituting the market, where the surplus value extracted from their employees is realised by the shareholders in the ordinary capitalist way.

This brings out clearly the stupidity of the notion that any section of the workers, large or small, can by co-operation, or any other method, form self-supporting communities inside capitalist society.

But quite apart from the Co-op's dependence for its market on wage-slaves employed by capitalists in the ordinary way, co-operation is unable to expand without capital, which, notwithstanding its stereotyped phrase "working-class capital," comes from the only class that has capital to invest.

July, 1915.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

A movement by workers which proposes to compete with, and oust capitalism from the world's markets is foredoomed to failure, because it can only exist by copying capitalist methods. If the savings of the workers is relied upon—as capital—it is obvious that co-operation will remain insignificant in comparison with capitalism. If, on the other hand, the dominant idea is the rapid increase in bulk of the Society's trade, the necessary capital must come from capitalists and the Society loses at once its working-class character. In short, they must either remain insignificant or become a fully capitalist concern. And the latter is precisely what has happened to the movement. Composed of men imbued with capitalist ideas of trade, and never understanding the working-class position, the co-operative movement has been powerless to resist impregnation from the capitalist forces all around it; the workers, whether employees or customers, have no control over it, and wholesale and retail alike are run on the same lines as other capitalist concerns.

"Co-operative societies were already great employers of labour, . . . He believed that the future policy of Co-operative Societies towards labour would be more and more a policy of co-partnership."

Co-partnership is admittedly the latest and most effective method of preventing disputes, urging the workers to the highest pitch of speed and efficiency, and at the same time reducing the wages bill. It is the latest crime against the workers; it heaps insult on injury, insults the wage-slave by calling him shareholder, while compelling him to drive his fellow-worker into the ranks of the unemployed, that a portion of the wages thus saved to the capitalist may be paid to him in the shape of dividend or bonus. But co-operators are so deeply involved in the capitalist game that they quite seriously contemplate, without shame, this more thorough exploitation and robbery of the workers.

The principles they voice have been in the melting pot ever since their earliest progenitors—nearly a century ago—died of slow starvation trying to live up to them. To-day they can only appeal upon one section of the workers—"the well paid artisans"—to use their savings as capital to exploit the rest. For that is the real meaning of Mr. Williams' statement:

"Co-operative housing was the next greatest field for the development of their movement and for the investment of hundreds of millions of working class capital."

The average man will note, however, not so much the lack of principle involved in this last statement as the absurd remark, "hundreds of millions of working class capital."

But the schemes of Co-operative dreamers become, if anything, more preposterous and ambitious in proportion as their movement is annexed, and their principles smothered by the capitalist. Like many social reformers, their particular nostrum is a panacea for all social evils, even war. Mr. Williams said:

"It was for Co-operators in this country to keep in touch with Co-operators in other lands, in order to bring about better relations and find a basis for permanent peace."

Thus the Co-operative Societies stand for co-partnership for the workers, dividends for those who find the capital, and a promise to try and find a basis for permanent peace. The same conditions, the same form of robbery and the same promises that we get already from Lever Bros., Rowntree, Furniss, and all the rest of the business-like and business as usual capitalist firms.

Co-operation is no remedy for poverty, nor does it even mitigate poverty, for even if it is true that the workers, by its aid, can live more cheaply, it follows that they merely set themselves a lower standard of living, to the advantage of the capitalist, who will reduce wages as soon as he is aware that he is paying more than is necessary to keep his slaves fit for their toil.

But we shall be told that co-operation is good while competition is bad, and that we ourselves have said it. And this is true. Though when we speak of co-operation we mean that real form of co-operation where all will co-operate in the production and distribution of wealth—not for the profit of a few—but for the use of all.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is our objective, and the Co-operative Societies steal our adjectives to boom capitalism in one of its most petty and contemptible forms.

F. F.

"OUR" FAIR INHERITANCE.

BRITAIN FOR THE BRITIES

"It was natural and inevitable that many of us who have hitherto thought of ourselves as citizens of the world, being unable and unwilling to leave our country during the period of the war, should have been surprised by a sudden love of England."

"Indeed, it is one of the good consequences of the present bad conflict that after ten, fifteen, twenty, even thirty years spent abroad at various intervals of our lives in search of health or pleasure we should have been compelled to realise that England is the best country in the world for an Englishman to travel in."

"Greater and grander things there are elsewhere to incite to higher raptures, but since the automobile has penetrated into the deep valleys of Cornwall and Somerset . . . it is good to feel that our beautiful green England, after all, the fairest land the sun shines upon."

"And as we pass over it on these bright spring days . . . which of us does not tell himself that, as long as there remains one man or woman of British blood above British soil, this England shall be ours, ours and our children's?" Hall Caine in "Reynolds," 30.5.15.

If it is one of the "good consequences" of the present bad conflict that those who have been able to spend years abroad in search of health or pleasure, should have been compelled to realise that England is the best country in the world for them to travel in, it would undoubtedly also be a good consequence if those who have been compelled to leave their poverty-stricken haunts than to the mine, field, or factory, were made to ask themselves why they should not be partaking of the things that incite to higher raptures. It would be a good consequence if the working-class were at last to claim their share of the good things of the earth. For it is obvious that the war, whatever its issue, will not only not shift the working class from their miserable condition, but will leave them in a more precarious position than before.

That the working class is not in our masters' schemes, except to afford the latter a basis for carrying on, in time of war, providing for the common, is abundantly evident, but we have to thank Mr. Hall Caine for bluntly stating the fact. No worker who has been the dupe of other capitalist agents could possibly be deceived by the above. We are not left in the dark as to the meaning of "Britain for the British" and "ours." Indeed, by making it perfectly clear that by "we" and "us" are meant those "citizens of the world" whom only a world-war prevents making their accustomed *voyages de plaisir*, and by thus ignoring and showing his contempt for those who spend their lives in labouring for capitalist profit, the author assures that "ours and our children's" will not be understood to include the working-class. And in this is the difference between the above and most of the ordinary "appeals that the 'ours' is openly identified with the possessing class, and unmasks the professional scribes for the vulgar satellites of the bourgeoisie that they are.

But even if one or other of Capitalism's servants did not occasionally, in a momentary return to honesty, make it clear that by "the interests of the nation" are to be understood the interests of their masters, the capitalist class, even if our masters themselves did not from time to time strikingly proclaim that their interests are far from being identical with those of the workers (instance the employers' £50,000,000 scheme to smash strikes), even if the capitalist Press, pulpit, and platform never departed from their ordinary game of bluff and hypocrisy, that worker must be dense indeed whose suspicion is not aroused at the mere assertion that the powers that be are concerned about the welfare of the working class. Have the master-class of Britain, for example, ever been concerned about the millions of English people who have been rotting in their slums? While there are thirty-nine million poor in the country (Sir Chiozza Money) and one-third of them are continually on

(Continued on p. N7.)

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

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The Socialist Standard,



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CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

Probably no newspaper carried on a more vigorous campaign against the Red Peril, a year ago, than the "Daily Express." That the "Socialism" it attacked was, in the main, State Capitalism, is a fact which only adds picquancy to its present attitude.

Before dealing with that interesting phenomenon, however, it is necessary to point out once more that the difference between "State Socialism" and Socialism, is the difference between slavery and freedom for the workers. In the former, the elements of the new society are present, but until the workers own and control, all the benefit goes to the capitalists; overwork and poverty is the workers' only share. Until the proletariat have fought the class war to a successful conclusion, they are still the hirelings or wage slaves of a class of parasites. That is why the class struggle is the great Socialist principle, and that is what distinguishes us from the pseudo Socialists. Thus the development of large-scale industry, whether in trust or State, is but the economic basis of Socialism. It is the means which the working class triumphant must seize and utilise for the commonweal.

The "Express," however, used to call any form of State enterprise Socialism, and it is ludicrous to find that journal advocating the very thing that it formally branded as the end of all things.

But let it speak for itself. In dealing with the war it said on June 19th:

"All that is required is an extension of the system which was applied to the railways as soon as war broke out. The railways were immediately taken over by the State. So smoothly do things run that we probably do not realise that to day every railway employee is a State employee paid by the State, and that every passenger travels as a passenger of the State, and pays his fare to the State. . . . The same principle must be applied to every other war industry with the smallest amount of delay for the period of the war. The larger industries, such as coal and shipping and the manufacture of general munitions, and the supply of the nation's food, must be taken over at once. The smaller industries must be absorbed by the State as occasion demands—for the term of the war."

Yet the "Express" used to say that what it now advocates was utterly impracticable, and the deadliest foe to efficiency! It was said to be an impossibility for a government to take over and organise such vast and complex indus-

tries, yet no sooner does it become necessary to the interests of the master class than the thing is done, in the two vital industries, in the twinkling of an eye, while the "Express" barks for more. From an impracticable, hare-brained scheme it becomes an extremely practical necessity. From being a grave danger because it would inevitably foster inefficiency and cause waste, it becomes the sovereign way to increase efficiency and eliminate waste. Formerly the absence of the vivifying breath of competition was said to mean industrial death; now competition is abolished in the vital industries because co-operation alone is life. Formerly the very basis of the British Empire was individual initiative and private enterprise; now the Empire is in danger because of the chaotic inefficiency of individual initiative and the utter failure of private enterprise—and to save the Empire these very things must be abolished in the most essential industries. Truly the right about face of the capitalist Press's remarkable, even for them. But wait! perhaps they have not yet done turning.

We used also to be told that Socialism meant the liberty of the individual and meant the regimentation, the ticketing, the registration and State surveillance of the people. But even so, the objector was worrying himself unnecessarily, for it is certain that this "liberty," so far as the mass of the people are concerned, has been interned or repatriated ages ago; while with regard to the awful charge of wishing to label, control, and register men and women, well, the free born Briton has, for the past few years, been undergoing a Prussianisation that bids fair to leave its prototype far in the rear.

The workers were classified, ticketed, and docked, suffering pains in the pocket, in that great ninetynine for fourpence swindle. Then the Defence of the Realm Act hit them below the belt. Next comes the Munitions Bill to give them a further dig in the ribs, while close on its heels follows the National Register, with its questions, its penalties, and its precious certificate that is to certify our servitude.

It would be truly curious to find out what arguments the capitalists have left even against the bogey they label as Socialism. When their interests demand it they throw their arguments to the winds and lay bare the lying hypocrisy of their assertions. Circumstances, they urge, alter cases. Undoubtedly. And in this case the circumstances have shown that the helpless inefficiency and wasteful dishonesty of their boasted private enterprise is very much worse even than their capitalist State enterprise.

And where are those damnable frauds who professed to be opposed to Socialism because it menaced the liberty which was supposed to exist in this country, and which was dearer to these frauds than life itself? We have listened in vain for the protests against the Register, etc., by the Liberty and Property Defence League or any similar body. Those doughty champions of individual liberty in the Anti-Socialist Union who never tired of assailing us on the false ground that we advocate what the Government is now doing, are now silent and acquiescent.

The sad truth is that under cover of national necessity the chains of servitude are being fastened more firmly upon the limbs of the worker.

Nevertheless there is no room for pessimism. Economic development proceeds apace. The ruling class, in the pursuit of its interests, refutes its own arguments, eats its own words, and, in very truth, helps dig its own grave. Socialism is ever more clearly demonstrated to be both possible and necessary. Every fresh phase of capitalism throws into relief the antagonism of classes, and indicates the need for the working class to become masters of the State, and use its supreme economic power for the liberation of human kind from wage slavery. And the day of that liberation may come sooner than we now dare to think.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles, living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

BY THE WAY.

An echo of the recent L.C.C. tramway strike was to be heard in a case which came before the court recently, when we were treated to a specimen of magisterial wisdom. Two tramway men were summoned for keeping dogs without a licence; one of the men was on strike whilst the other remained at work. The punishment in the case of the former was 10s. plus a lecture on the enormity in being on strike at the present time, while the latter was discharged. Obviously the question of the dogs was of secondary importance with the learned cadi.

We might, however, point out in passing that, to our mind, the drivers and conductors overlooked a very important factor, namely, the men who supplied the current for propelling the cars. To leave these men out of their consideration was to court failure. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the masters held the trump card in the shape of the military, whose services might have been requisitioned while capital's royal reserves, the unemployed, were being trained for the work.

As a result of the order issued by the L.C.C. not to take back men who are eligible for the army, doubtless our masters will have been able to rope in a few more recruits for their "voluntary" army.

In this connection I notice that:

"The proposal to give no war bonus to men of military age was unanimously adopted by the City Corporation to-day. . . . No encouragement would be given to the able-bodied to stay at home when they were needed at the front."—"Star," 17.6.15.

There you are again. Hurrah! for the land of the free. So far the "voluntary" system has absolutely vindicated itself, say one section of the capitalist Press.

Once or twice lately reference has been made to Ben Tillett, of the Dock Labourers' and Riverside Workers' Union, and in doing so again we have no desire to assist in the boozing of this individual, who at the present time seems to be more valuable than ever to the master class. My object is to draw attention to the acrobatic performances of Mr. Tillett, who, at one time is loud in his denunciation of the master class and now is offering his services to them in order to further cement their hold on the working class.

A year or two since Mr. Tillett was speaking at the London Opera House when he said: "The other side had tried to fool the people, and so far had done better than we had." He has now undoubtedly overtaken the "other side" for we read:

"Many people with no obvious concern in the firing line have been allowed to visit France and Flanders. . . . But there have been cases when this licence has been justified by the facts, and one of them is Ben Tillett. Ben Tillett has been allowed a pretty free hand over there. He has ferreted about as he pleased, and he has come back, as he says, to preach 'bloody murder.' . . . Ben Tillett, fired with the knowledge of what this war really means, is going to be worth a whole munition factory to Mr. L. George. Is there not a post at Armaments House for Ben Tillett?"—"Daily Dispatch," 18.6.15.

Doubtless the masters have long since recognised the "fooling" propensity of this betrayer of working-class interests. How faithfully and well he served them in 1912 at the time of the Dock Strike, when he and those other "leaders" ordered the men back to work after ten weeks of bitter struggle! Moreover, be it remembered that this strike was not one for fresh demands, but merely asking the masters to "honour a scrap of paper" containing awards made to the dockers a year previously.

It is to be hoped that many of those dockers, who in 1912, at the meeting in Southwark Park, voted against returning to work and tore down the notices ordering them to do so, and further

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told their "leaders" that they were traitors, will remember the murder of their children and wives by the capitalist class in the year of disgrace 1912.

In the midst of the hubbub generated by the campaign of frightfulness, upon which many yards of type and a large amount of printer's ink have been used, I have, as it were, been favoured by the gods, for in my travels I have come across an item of interest from a leading paper which speaks of the arming of passenger ships. In a report of the Royal Mail Packet Co. for 1914, which is referred to as disappointing, we are informed that:

"The company has had two steamers sunk by the enemy, but its passenger ships have escaped. This immunity from attack, the directors say, has been in a large measure due to the fact that, a year or two before the war broke out, nearly all the "A" and "D" steamers were armed with guns for the purpose of self defence. It is quite clear that this step has been fully justified by later events, and the company has been complimented upon its public spirit in taking the initiative in this matter, on the suggestion of the Admiralty and at a time when the desirability of arming merchant vessels was less obvious than it is now."—"Manchester Guardian," 4.5.15.

Then it is marvelled at why passenger steamers are torpedoed!

As a result of the large number of coal miners who have enlisted there is a consequent diminution in the output of coal, which is becoming a serious matter to the bosses, whose attention is now being directed to the question of increased production. Of course, as usual, they do not suggest tackling the job themselves—the dignity of labour is all very well for their slaves, but they, the possessors of directive ability, do not want any of it. So now they are busying themselves as how best to speed up their slaves who remain at home. They might even require the services of the Bishop of London, who, a short time ago, was ready to break stones if necessary.

A meeting between the owners' and workers' representatives has been recommended by a Departmental Committee to consider how far the Eight-Hours Act should be suspended. In this connection Mr. Stephen Walsh says:

"Paradoxical as it may sound, a real Eight-Hours Act has never been passed. At many of the newer and larger pits the time allowed by the mines inspectors for the lowering and raising of the men, added to the coal-winding period, makes each shift one more nearly approaching ten hours than eight, and it is certain that an extension of the present working time would not result in anything like an equal increase in production."—"Manchester Guardian," 17.6.15.

Certain suggestions—so dear to the heart of the capitalist—have been made in respect of a more extended use of female labour and the employment of boys at an earlier age. Says King Coal: "Suffer little children to come unto me."

Mr. A. Henderson, speaking at a Labour and Progressive Association meeting at Bishop Auckland in connection with his having joined the new War Ministry, said:

"They [the Labour Party] were asked to join in order to maintain the fullest standard of unity until the war was completed . . . when they would be free to revert to the original position without having compromised in the slightest degree."

The speaker went on to say that:

"The invitation placed him in a very difficult position. . . . It was decided that the invitation be accepted. . . . He readily admitted that it was against the constitution of the Party, but the constitution was made for normal conditions."—"Manchester Guardian," 31.5.15.

This latest move of the Labour Party is consistent with their usual tactics of acting as a kind of special fire brigade to the late Government, moving amendments and voting against

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them, &c. The phrase "placed him in a difficult position," suggests the falsity of the previous suggestion of reverting to the original position "without having compromised." This latest evidence of compromising with the enemies of the working class should suffice to prove the utter worthlessness of the muddle-headed Labour Party.

THE SCOUT.

CAPITALIST ECONOMICS.

(Continued.)

"ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS" by Richard T. Ely and George Ray Wicker (America). Revised and adapted for English Students by L. L. Price, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d.

A sufficient sketch of the matters of Credit and Banking is given, but in the chapter on "International Trade and Exchanges" technical terms are introduced too soon in the discussion for the elementary students, who would find some difficulty, from this cause, in following the arguments.

In the chapter on Distribution the old non-sense of sharing the product among the three factors, "land, labour, and capital," is repeated,

though a few lines further on it is admitted that "when we are discussing the share of the annual produce that falls to the land (sic) we are at the same time explaining the principles which determine the size of the rent income of the landlord." (Page 275, italics mine.) Obviously the land and the landlord are not one and the same thing—except in orthodox economics.

In referring to the so-called "Weakness of Socialism" we are asked how we are to deal with agriculture, "which has hitherto resisted all efforts at centralisation." And this from people in the land of the Bonanza Farm, the Great Elevator Trust, and huge cattle ranches! The differences here are no greater than in many another industry, of which a good example is the "chain-store" system, where the units are comparatively small but the ownership and control are centralized.

And the hoary "herculean task" of apportioning work "without engendering a universal discontent that would be fatal to the plan" is once more brought from its retreat. Blissfully ignorant, of course, are our authors that these tasks are done to-day with misery as a reward and a gulf before them that "few men can hope to cross." Note that few men can even "hope" to leave the ranks of the working class.

Yet without even the "hope" the authors are so fond of referring to no difficulty is experienced in obtaining the labour power to carry out this work. How much more readily will it be done when a full share of the good things and enjoyments of life are taken as a result of doing a share of the work of society!

Another "objection" to Socialism is that the "danger to personal freedom" . . . seems very real." Fancy! We poor wage slaves might lose our "freedom" to starve in the midst of plenty that we enjoy to day; we might have to forego the liberty of remaining cold while plenty of fuel was at hand; we might find ourselves faced with the "very real danger" of no longer requiring to tramp the streets for weary weeks vainly seeking the job that seems farther off each day; we might have to give up the "freedom" of keeping to the road when on tramp and take to the woods and parks and beauty spots now so seldom open to us. It looks as though it would be almost worth risking.

"Finally, we are told, "we may lay down the general rule that the domination of a single industrial principle is dangerous to civilisation." As this is exactly what is happening to day where Science, Art, Literature, Poetry, and Music, as well as production of wealth, are all under the domination of capitalism, our authors appear to have made a mistake in their reference. Under Socialism, where the maximum of diversity consistent with the general well-being would be the rule, this "objection" obviously does not apply.

The suggestion that "What is needed is a co-ordination of the two principles—the principle of private and of public business," is rather late, as most of the "public" business to day is conceived and carried on in the interests of the master class, who have arranged the "co-ordination" to a fair degree of efficiency.

When such acute agents of the masters can

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find no better objections to Socialism than these we can realise how strong our case really is. Not a single essential point of that case is refuted, nor is any real error shown; and the so-called points are in each instance far more strongly applicable to the present system than to any other.

As stated in the reviewer's opening remarks, the admissions of our opponents show how far our ideas and education are spreading in all lands. When a sufficient number of the workers grasp the truth of the Socialist case and decide to take control of the means of life for themselves, they will look back with amusement upon the laboured and befogging efforts of the capitalist economists to explain the system of wealth production and distribution, and with still more amusement to the feeble objections and difficulties now urged against Socialism. J. F.

FIGHTING IT OUT WITH THE "WEEKLY PEOPLE."

O.O.

In the May issue of this journal the present scribe attacked the policy of the Socialist Labour Party of America. To this attack the organ of that party, the "Weekly People," has offered a reply in two instalments. The spokesman of the S.L.P. of A. affects surprise at the charge which was levelled at his organisation, and, of course, resorts to his old wheeze—his critic has "his own conception of class-conscious organisation, according to which he tests the S.L.P. and finds it wanting."

Unfortunately for the S.L.P. case, however, the "Weekly People" scribbler goes on to give the S.L.P. conception of class-conscious organisation, which is as follows:

"class-conscious organisation means that form of organisation which recognises and is based upon the fact that society is divided into two distinct economic [!] classes, with interests diametrically opposed. These two classes are the working class and the employing class; or, the working class and the capitalist class.

Between the two an irrepressible struggle goes on. There is, in the nature of things, no bridging of this struggle; it can only end by the working-class abolishing the capitalist system, which is responsible for both classes, and by assuming control over the affairs of production in the interests [of] all the workers in the land. Class conscious organisation of labor means the recognition of these facts and acting in accordance therewith."

Though, broadly speaking, this statement is correct, it is carefully worded so as to dodge the essential point that CLASS - CONSCIOUS ORGANISATION IS THE ORGANISATION OF THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS. The reason of this is that to insist upon class-consciousness in those they would organise means that the S.L.P. must educate those people, and this in turn means that the time for such organisation has not arrived, since the number of class-conscious workers is so small that if organised they would be utterly incompetent to carry on the functions of those organisations the Industrialists seek to displace—the trade unions, or as the S.L.P. of A. will have it, craft unions.

But if the conception of class-conscious organisation quoted above is calculated to obscure the awkward and unwelcome point which abhors all chance of mushroom-quick "success"—the point that that alone is class-conscious organisation which organises the class-conscious—it offers no ultimate loophole for escape from the position, since its very terms themselves lead inevitably to the same awkward conclusion.

"Class-conscious organisation," we are told, "means the recognition of these facts and acting in accordance therewith." Can the S.L.P. of A. spokesman tell us who but the class-conscious is going to recognise the facts he tabulates—the facts of the class division of society, the antagonism of interests between the master class and the working class, the class struggle, and the need for revolution? And who, will he tell us, is capable of "acting in accordance therewith" save he who does recognise those facts?

Our opponents' definition of class-conscious organisation, therefore, quite clearly commits them to the organisation of class-conscious

workers only, whether upon the political or the economic plane—that is, of course, unless they are prepared to forswear class-conscious organisation, which, apparently, they are not.

When, therefore, the "Weekly People" asks: "Does our friend, A.E.J., dispute this presentation of the case and deny that the Socialist Labour Party meets the test in this respect?" their friend A.E.J. answers no to the first portion of their query, and yes to the last.

For the Socialist Labour Party have organised an Industrial Union, and though they would doubtless claim that it is "based upon the fact that society is divided into two classes," and so forth, they dare not contend that it is an organisation of the class-conscious, or that they have ever tried to make it such.

But it is not only according to their own "presentation of the case" that the S.L.P. of A. stands condemned. In dealing with a point in my previous article the "Weekly People" says: "Organisation upon lines of industry does not necessarily divide the workers as a class . . ." Whether it necessarily does so is not at all the point. In the silly circular which the S.L.P. of America sent to the parties affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau (which circular was the starting-point of the present discussion) it was claimed that "the correct form of economic organisation (industrial unionism) is the embryo, the undeveloped form of future society." The circular then says, "To illustrate" That is a definite announcement that what follows is to illustrate the point that "industrial unionism is the undeveloped form of future society." And in what follows is contained this statement:

" . . . no one man can truly represent the many and varied interests of the different industries which are to be found within a given territory. To represent any one of these industries in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein, one must himself be engaged in the same, understanding the needs and requirements of such interests."

Since it is admitted that it is not a legitimate statement against territorial representation there is no need to prove it, while as for the other side of the argument, that "Organisation on industrial lines does not necessarily divide the workers," I have said my say. But this to show the shallow thinking of the S.L.P. of A.: they seem to think that they escape from geographical representation, but they by no means do so. We read in their circular to the European Movement that "local unions will be composed of all the actual wage workers in a given industry in a given locality" . . .

The Socialist Labour Party's claim that "Industrial unionism, by organising the workers along the lines of industry, no more creates antagonism or destroys class solidarity than does the political organisation, which organises the workers along the lines of political sub-divisions, political districts, sections, branches, etc."

It is fatuous in face of the contradictory claim that the industries are to be represented in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein ("To represent any one of these industries in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein" . . . S.L.P. circular to the Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau. Italics mine.) It is quite clear that such representation is not founded upon a social phase in which we are alike, but one in which we are all different. Such organisation if it could exist, would be quite capable of carrying the strike into the new society. Its absurdity is revealed in the reflection that it would not embrace the whole of the people, for those who had not reached the age to be "actively engaged and producing therein," and those who had passed that age, and those who were incapable, would have no representation and no rights. If this would not be dividing the workers teach me the meaning of the word.

No, organisation by industries as the "undeveloped form of future society" will not wash. Industries may be a transitory phase. Industries will never embrace all the people. The "needs and requirements of the industry are not a matter for the industry alone, but are a part of the social needs, and can, in the last resource only be satisfied through co-operation provided by the control of social man.

On the other hand, the permanent feature of democratic society is common ownership of the

means of life, which gives equal (though conditional) rights to all, whether user or not. Control based upon this fact takes cognizance of every social need, including the "needs and requirements of industries." The representatives of society elected to control in the interest of society may be only the tailors, goldsmiths, weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, potters, salesmen, glaziers, cigar-makers, and all manner of other workmen" concerning whom the "Weekly People" ask (May 8, "Socialism for Beginners") "what on earth most of these know about the railroad industry?" but they would know what society wanted of the railways, and would appoint or cause to be appointed men (or women) having the requisite technical knowledge, to achieve the desired result.

To take up for a moment the other side of our opponents' unhappy illustration, what would the representatives of the workers in the railway industry as such know of the higher question of the social demands upon the industry they represented—or what would they care? To find an instance in current events, what do those in the railway service know of the needs of the army which they are transporting supplies for? The first thing the Government had to do when war broke out was to place the railways under the control, as far as was necessary, not of men who understood "the needs and requirements of the industry," but of those who understood the "needs and requirements" of the military.

On other point before leaving this side of the question. The S.L.P. of A. spokesman says:

"To contend as A.E.J. contends, is tantamount to saying that class-conscious political organisation is not founded upon the class struggle 'because instead of uniting the workers as a class, it divides them by political districts, branches, etc.' The one form of reasoning would be as legitimate as the other, and both would be false."

Since it is admitted that it is not a legitimate statement against territorial representation there is no need to prove it, while as for the other side of the argument, that "Organisation on industrial lines does not necessarily divide the workers," I have said my say. But this to show the shallow thinking of the S.L.P. of A.: they seem to think that they escape from geographical representation, but they by no means do so. We read in their circular to the European Movement that "local unions will be composed of all the actual wage workers in a given industry in a given locality" . . .

The "Weekly People" scribe, in the third instalment of his reply to the criticism of his party which has appeared in these columns, comes to the point of "How are you going to get behind the armed forces of the State?" He then asks if this is to be accomplished "By simple political organisation?" By the method of the vote only?"

It may clear the air to ask how the capitalist class "get behind" the armed forces. It is sheer moonshine to say that that class, "being in control of the industrial machinery of the land, . . . uses the threats of a shut down of industry to brow-beat Labor into voting to the capitalists' liking . . ." That sort of thing is comparatively rare in this country yet the masters get behind the armed forces pretty effectually. They get there by the votes of the working class.

In the same way the working class will get there. Our opponents need not be afraid of the "well known methods of counting out, stuffing ballot boxes, etc." All the cases which violent palpitation of the imagination brings to the S.L.P. mind do not alter the fact that a more or less free ballot is a necessity of the capitalist class. As our opponents show, so far it is chiefly capitalist candidates themselves who have suffered from these practices, and there is little doubt that the frozen out sections of the ruling class will not always be content to be frozen out. They will, in the course of time, fight the matter of the freedom of the ballot box to a finish—with the aid of the workers of course—as they have in this country. Though it is true that: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future," the S.L.P. must not run away with the idea that in every detail America holds a mirror to the rest of the world. Brow-beating at the ballot box is a phase we have passed through in this country.

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Our opponents, hereafter at a loss for honest argument, descend to filthy lies. We read:

"How are you going to capture these armed forces if you are prevented from doing so politically?"

And then our opponents answer for us with lies and slander, thus:

"by revolution" is the only answer which these political actionists can give. We see them giving it through Socialist Party organs in endorsing a citizen soldier."

Thus sang Tennyson; but the sage, in his more dogmatic and definite way, said bluntly that "all things are relative." And this profound truth is also illustrated in the various meanings given by different people to some of the commonest words.

Examine that blessed word "freedom," for instance, and it is at once plain that its meaning depends solely upon the point of view. Dismissing for the moment the philosophical content of the word—which itself is an everlasting bone of contention—and noticing only the commonest meanings, what an infinite variety there is! To no two men does that word call up the same mental picture. To nearly every individual it means no more nor less in reality than some different interference with the freedom of others to his advantage.

In an endeavour to support the claim that "the workers' industrial power is the one source of power whereby they can back up their ballot" the writer in the "Weekly People" asks:

"What about the workers' POWER to paralyse capitalist machinations, as they did unwittingly in this country in the great coal strike of 1902? What about their POWER to paralyse capitalist machinations as they did in England in the great industrial strike there only about six years ago? Were those occasions not manifestations of the workers' POWER OVER INDUSTRY, even if asserted in a NEGATIVE fashion?"

If these instances are manifestations of what the S.L.P. conceive as power over industry, so much the worse for them. If, when they resort to their extremes, and the result is that industry ceases to exist—if that is power over industry, then I am astonished. It is negative enough, in all conscience. But there are these two curious things about it—it does not need industrial unionism to give it articulation, and it has within it the germ of that instrument with which the S.L.P. professes to have "neither patience nor sympathy"—the general strike. Why but of sympathy with any manifestation of "the workers' power over industry"?

The truth is that there is a vast difference between the "negative" and the "positive." In a developed capitalist country the workers are the free owners of their commodity, labour-power, and can withdraw it under certain conditions (though, as was shown in the case of the Postal strike in France a few years ago, and of the railway strike in Great Britain in 1911, the ruling class are quite prepared to use the military to put a limit to this "right" when it suits them) without running counter to the law. But to make the slightest attempt, in any capitalist country, to take the "positive" action of "taking and holding" is to commit the very crime to prevent which is the chief reason for the maintenance of the armed forces. That is the answer to the question: "What about the same power when organised for positive action?"

The same way the working class will get there. Our opponents need not be afraid of the "well known methods of counting out, stuffing ballot boxes, etc." All the cases which violent palpitation of the imagination brings to the S.L.P. mind do not alter the fact that a more or less free ballot is a necessity of the capitalist class. As our opponents show, so far it is chiefly capitalist candidates themselves who have suffered from these practices, and there is little doubt that the frozen out sections of the ruling class will not always be content to be frozen out. They will, in the course of time, fight the matter of the freedom of the ballot box to a finish—with the aid of the workers of course—as they have in this country. Though it is true that: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future," the S.L.P. must not run away with the idea that in every detail America holds a mirror to the rest of the world. Brow-beating at the ballot box is a phase we have passed through in this country.

It is quite obvious that this is not a form of conscription. It is simply an application of the decision of the master class to persuade their wage slaves into joining the fight with the moral superiority of men who have not been forced.

The workers must prepare themselves for their emancipation by class-conscious organisation on both the political and the economic fields, the first to gain control of the forces with which the masters maintain their dominance, the second to carry on production in the new order of things. The economic organisation, however, must be upon a basis higher and having a wider view than the industrial base. It must be organised upon the basis of the working class, which becomes—what the basis of industries never can—a social basis as soon as the idle class is abolished and society becomes a society of workers.

A. E. J.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is a high explosive. It shatters error and superstition. "Nuff said."

THAT BLESSED WORD, "FREEDOM."

TO:

"But any man that walks the mead,
In bud or bloom or flower may find,
According as his humours I ad,
A meaning suited to his mind."

TO:

"In bud or bloom or flower may find,
According as his humours I ad,
A meaning suited to his mind."

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TO:

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
102, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 73, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spekeal-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

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ILFORD.—Secretary, 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

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N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 110 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

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STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

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WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-
st.

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WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

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"Weekly People" (New York).

"British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).

"Freedom" (London).

"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).

"International Socialist" (Sydney).

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).

"Socialist" (Melbourne).

"Washington Socialist" (Washington).

"New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.)

"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

MR SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective

Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain
HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

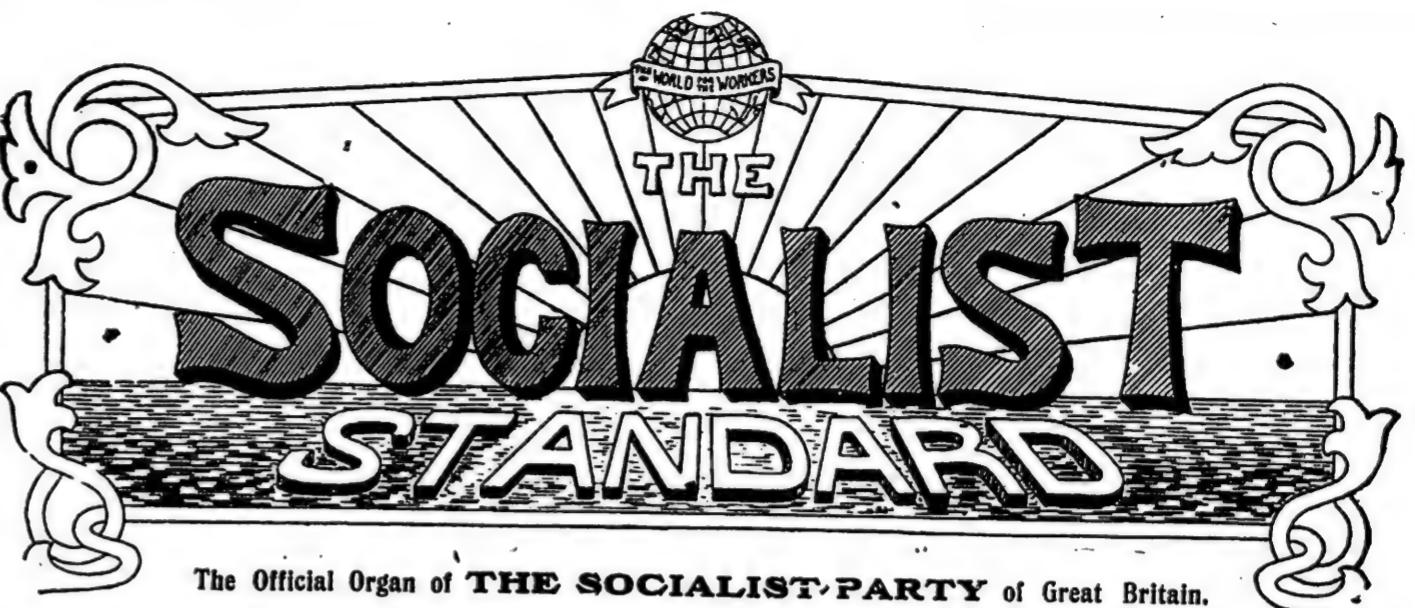
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The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

No. 132. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, AUGUST, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE WRECKERS.

HOW OUR FAIR NAME IS EXPLOITED.

0:0

The "Daily News and Leader" in a recent leading article asks:

"What would be gained by 'mobilising' labour as it is called—that is, putting it under military law—if the organising faculty at the top is not present?"

That have destroyed the best asset of **Evergreen** this country, the free, willing **Travesty**. service of the people, in order to set up the machine of Prussianism without its driving power. *The corollary of military law for the worker would be the abolition of capitalism in the workshop, for it would be manifestly impossible to have forced labour to earn private dividends. Are our compulsionists prepared for such a vast experiment in Socialism?*"

The portion of the above which has been italicised should be carefully noted. It is one of the commonest and most absurd of all the errors that are purposely advertised by the agents of the capitalist class that Socialism means the State ownership and government control of any or all of the means of wealth production. Those who advocate the State ownership of mines or railways or any other industry are dubbed Socialists and accept the name.

Mr. Lloyd George was evidently—or seemingly, at all events—under the impression that this was the meaning of Socialism when he said in one of his munition slanders:

"They have great trade unions in France; as the matter of fact they have a Socialist Government, and the gentleman who is organising the munitions supply in France is a young Socialist."

The Bishop of Oxford writing to his sheep said:

"It is strange to find 'The Times' and the 'Spectator' advocating Socialism—for the period of the war—that is, that the State should take over the industries which go to supply munitions, and that all alike—employers and employed, should henceforth be employed by the State till the war is over."

When the true definition of Socialism, which is the Object of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community) is quoted to any of these "State Socialists" they have two replies. First that it is impossible,

The Straw Men. which, of course, only means that it would not suit them, because it involves the abolition of capitalism the world over, and not merely the substitution of State for private control in the workshop; and secondly—the reply which is met

with more frequently—that there are recognised authorities on the subject who say otherwise. But recognised by whom?

Fortunately, Socialism does not depend upon the utterances of any individual or number of individuals, however illustrious or prominent they may be. No man can be an authority on Socialism unless his statements are backed by evidence and his deductions and opinions will stand the test of common sense. It is mere bombast for men like Mr. George Bernard Shaw to construct elaborate theories, laying stress and emphasis upon them and dressing them up to look like essentials, when an intelligent examination shows them to be unimportant and ungrounded—as he does with his theory of rent, which has no bearing whatever on the problems that face the working class—or as he does with his theory that the exchange-value of a commodity is fixed by supply and demand, an error that was exposed by Marx before Shaw espoused it. (The latter, apparently, is still unacquainted with Marx's suggestive and searching question, "What fixes the price when supply and demand are equal?")

There are many writers of this type whose works receive friendly notice in the columns of the capitalist Press. The leader-writer and the politician accept them as standard works, refer to them and quote them as authorities on Socialism. But that does not make them such. On the contrary, the very fact that a so-called Socialist work has been received by the capitalist Press even in a spirit of friendly criticism should be sufficient to awaken the suspicion of those workers to whose notice it is brought.

The main characteristic of all such works is that they deny the existence of the class war possibly because the mass of the workers have not yet consciously engaged in the struggle. But they never attempt to disprove the fundamental antagonism that exists, nor can they deny that the capitalist class consciously enlist all the available forces, knowledge, and ability at their command in a continuous effort to keep the workers a slave class.

The fight put up by the workers is limited because of their lack of knowledge. Trade union organisation, strikes, demonstrations, and enrolment in pseudo-Socialist parties, together with a growing antagonism and suspicion against the ruling class constitute the sum total of their activities, but limited as these activities are they testify to the deep-seated causes that are bound to produce, and increasingly develop, hostility.

The growing suspicion of large sections of the workers is, perhaps, the most significant of all the factors, and is recognised as such by members of the Government. Mr. Lloyd George, in particular, had to admit, with sorrow, that the

munition workers would have nothing to do with Government guarantees, preferring to hold fast to the trifling privileges they have gained by a policy of cravenity, though they risked being charged with want of patriotism.

Working-class resistance takes these particular forms because the nature of the struggle is not yet understood by the workers. To deny the existence of the class struggle because one side fights with full knowledge and up-to-date methods and the other side merely kicks and yells is paralleled by saying that there is no antagonism between the tramp and the insects that feed on him, because he is too tired to actively combat them, or is unable to afford the luxury of a bath with the necessary disinfectants.

When Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald jeers at the "class war dogma," and Mr. G. B. Shaw denies the class war's existence, they range themselves on the side of the master class, whose wish that there should be no class war is father to the thought that there is none. Every labour hack inside and outside the House of Commons reflects that wish and proclaims that the interests of the only two classes in society are, in the main, identical. For that reason they are pro-capitalist, because the emancipation of the working class depends upon their recognition of the antagonism of classes and the fact that they are enslaved for enslavement is in itself a calculated, pronounced, and continuous act of hostility. Consequently, Socialism can only be established as a result of the antagonism of classes and the successful prosecution of the class war by an enlightened working class.

For all the confusion that exists as to the cause of poverty and the meaning of Socialism we have to thank those who pose as the friends of the workers, and in many cases describe themselves as Socialists. These wolves in sheep's clothing propound their heresies and absurdities in sentimental and plausible language, to be taken up by the ignoramus and the trickster and scattered over the pages the workers read; hence their confusion and ignorance.

It is the business of capitalism to produce commodities for the world's market. It is a characteristic of the system that scarcely any of these commodities are what they seem or what they are guaranteed to be. How, then, can we accept the capitalist's statement that periodicals like the "Clarion" and the "Labour Leader," for instance, are Socialistic?

Blatchford's Periodicals such as these are **Bally** the organs of confusion produced by professional confuzzionists, countenanced, and often assisted by, the master class.

The latest number of the "Clarion," which is no exception to every number that has pre-

ceded it, by the way—contains a rehash of the old lies that have done service for the capitalist class for so long. "If the Government were to take over the mines that would be an act of pure Socialism," says Robert Blatchford, and again, "Socialism means the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Whether Blatchford and the rest of his kidney publish these errors through ignorance or as acts of enmity against the working class I, not being conversant with their "inner consciousness," am unable to say, nor have I time to waste in vain a speculation. They are errors, and Socialists can only denounce the authors of them, pointing out at the same time to the workers where they are false, and inviting them to use their intelligence that they may speedily understand Socialism for themselves—when the confusionist will disappear because there will be no market for his adulterated, distorted, and injurious commodity.

F. F.

BY THE WAY.

—o—

In a recent issue of the "Daily Dispatch" a writer deals at some length with the M.P.'s who had the temerity to vote against the National Registration Bill. He says:

"It was a motley group which challenged a division on the Registration Bill last night, and its composition furnishes an interesting indication of the character of the opposition which the National Government will have to meet. . . . There were gathered together 'all who were discontented,' and it was a quaint collection of disappointed ex-ministers, radical purists, cranks and anti-British Socialists."

The writer goes on to describe this "motley group" as "strange bed-fellows," and makes the mistake of calling these labour fakers Socialists. Moreover, this gentleman overlooks another contributor to the same paper, Mr. H. M. Hyndman—the "Revolutionary Socialist"—holding the same views as avowedly capitalist writers to the "Dispatch." And what of the Liberal and Tory coalition with a mingling of Labourites!

Perhaps it would not be amiss in the circumstances to take a peep at the division list to which the "Dispatch" scribbler refers. We find that the "Socialists" spoken of includes Messrs. W. C. Anderson, C. W. Bowerman, J. F. Jowett, J. R. Macdonald, P. Snowden, and J. H. Thomas. The remainder of that hotch potch known as the Labour Party voted for the Bill! If the "Dispatch" derives any satisfaction from their reference to those "strange bed fellows," it at least gives us the opportunity of repudiating the claim of these latter to the title they usurp whenever and wherever it suits their purpose to do so—the claim that they are Socialists. A careful study of the antics of these gentry in and out of the House of Commons will suffice to prove their worthlessness to the working class.

* * *

Lord Kitchener, in his speech at the Guildhall on July 9th, made a passing reference to the object of the National Register. He delivered himself as follows:

"When registration was completed they would be able to note men between nineteen and forty not required for munitions and other necessary purposes, and therefore available, if physically fit, for the firing line. Steps would then be taken to approach them with a view to enlistment, unmarried men to be preferred."

—Reynolds's, 11.7.15.

* * *

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the "father of English Socialism," recently contributed an article to the "Daily Dispatch" (7.7.15) on the subject of "National Registration and National Liberty," in which he endeavoured to show how the first will safeguard the last. Throughout the article we find him mouthing the usual capitalist prattle, such as "many valuable ships of war have been sunk, and our mercantile marine is suffering from systematic piracy." A little admonition is dealt out to "our rulers, who for months on end refused to recognise that we were face to face with relentless enemies orga-

nised for the purpose of crushing our allies and ourselves." He goes on to say that "such organisation, prepared and matured during at least forty years, can only be successfully encountered and overcome by equal organisation voluntarily accepted," and "whatever may be urged against certain clauses of the War Munitions Act, no such criticism can be fairly levelled at a measure whose object is to put directly at the national disposal the whole of the power of the nation as represented by its entire population for work or for war."

Doubtless the phrase "national disposal" should read the disposal of the master class, in whose interest the war is being waged, as the working class were not consulted in the signing of any treaties beforehand or the reasons for entering the war. Not a word do we find about "secret diplomacy" which led to war and used to be his pet hobby horse.

Mr. Hyndman further informs us that "nothing for which the masses of our people have ever striven is more important than that they and all of us should win in this tremendous war against the ruthless military caste—happily the last left on the planet [!]—that menaces the rights and freedom of mankind." And again: "If the Kaiser succeeds in his great endeavour to dominate Europe what chance have we English, or any other nationality, of working out freely and peacefully our own economic and social salvation?" So Socialism depends upon the whim of the Kaiser, eh? It depends not on economic circumstance but on dynastic circumstance—according to this blind leader of the blind.

In conclusion he adds that it is "our duty to marshal our entire forces . . . to ensure safety for ourselves and security for our allies. If for the purpose of achieving this result we are all obliged to submit ourselves to national discipline . . . then the temporary sacrifice of personal liberty will be well rewarded in the end." Mr. Hyndman at the same time points out that "this suppression of our individual liberty" should be "duly safeguarded against bureaucratic tyranny." But who can guarantee this?

Doubtless these outpourings will obtain for this "oldest Social-Democrat in Great Britain" the "well done, thou good and faithful servant!" of the masters. (*italics mine*)

* * *

A series of questions were recently asked in the House of Commons touching the matter of whether it was not possible to grant the troops in the new armies facilities for visiting their home, for the purpose of bidding good-bye to their families. It was said that:

"The fare from Salisbury to Lancashire and Yorkshire was a sum beyond the means of many of these men to spare out of their pay; and whether the Government would undertake that all who obtained leave before going abroad should be enabled to visit their homes free of cost?"

And it was further asked:

"Whether the War Office would bear in mind that many of these men gave up remunerative posts in order to join the Army, and that their being prevented from seeing their relatives before going abroad through not being able to pay the fare would be a great hardship?"

The official reply was that the question was being considered.

The remunerative nature of the positions that have been given up may be judged from the fact that those who have given them up have no reserve funds to pay their own railway fare home; and on the other hand, what is to be said of the meanness of the country they are going to protect, that refuses to let them travel over the "Statized" (temporarily) railways free? Such paltry niggardness before the "happy warriors" have saved their masters' bacon augurs well for the open-handed generosity of a traditionally "grateful country" when the maimed and battered remnants of "glorious humanity" are brought home after the struggle.

* * *

The Suffragettes are doing their best to keep their movement before the public. These people, who only a short time ago were busily en-

gaged window smashing, church burning, and picture ripping, are now hailed as law-abiding citizens, whose services are to be used in order to free men from productive processes so that the latter may be driven into the trenches. These ladies, as they took very great care that all the world should know, recently organised a procession to send a deputation to Mr. Lloyd George to "demand the right to serve." We are told that in the procession "peacockes walked shoulder to shoulder with shop girls and factory lasses." The anterior object is seen in the wording of a telegram received later by Mrs. Pankhurst from Mr. Hall Caine. It was given in the "Observer" (18.7.5) as follows:

"After to-day's thrilling patriotic procession the Women's Cause will triumph as surely as the sun will rise and the sea will flow."

* * *

In all our (masters') newspapers we are told to economise. Government organisations like the Parliamentary War Savings Committee take up the tale with all manner of blandishments. And now along comes Canon (I believe) H. D. Rawnsley pointing out that there is plenty of accommodation in the Lake District for holiday makers. He writes:

"It has come to my knowledge that some who were intending to come to the Lake District for their holiday have been put off by hearing that, in consequence of the war, the holiday makers who would otherwise have gone to the Continent or to the East Coast have thronged the district, and that accommodation is not to be had. I wish to give an emphatic contradiction to the rumour." ("Manchester Guardian," 16.7.15.)

With Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and other great patriots urging Plunger Sniff the dustman and Sooty Sam the chimney sweep to economy, it is surely doing a disservice to the State on the part of Mr. Rawnsley to try to tempt them to find in the English Lake District a substitute for the lost charms of the Riviera and the pleasures of shovels-a-penny at Monte Carlo. For shame, sir! You will not let our corduroy prodigals come to the rescue of their bleeding country through "retrenchment and reform" even when they want to.

* * *

At a time like the present, when we are hearing so much about our "liberty," perhaps a few "rules" from a certain motor works would not come amiss. After having affixed his number and name on the front page the new wage-slave is informed that:

"Each employee must personally register in the time clock when he commences and ceases work."

"Employees ringing in late will be paid from the nearest half hour following the time rung in, and must begin work at once on entering the shop."

"The bell will ring in the morning, and after the luncheon hour two minutes before the time to commence work, so that all employees may have a chance to reach their respective places before the starting bell rings, when everyone must be in his place with his overalls on ready for work. Just entering the building on starting time will not be satisfactory."

"Receiving visitors, lunching, eating or reading is not permitted during working hours."

"Smoking or lighting cigars, pipes, etc., is absolutely prohibited."

I will not extend the list any further, sufficient being quoted to discover the need for a microscope to reveal our much-vaunted liberty.

The Scour.

OUR WAR VOLUME.

The attention of readers is drawn to the probability that, on account of the number of Party manifestoes on the war it contains, there will be an exceptional demand for the volume of our Party Organ which closes with this number. Those who desire to obtain the volume should place their orders early.

reform that growing social antagonism which these things have not only failed to arrest, but have tended to foster.

He grants that material conditions mould at least the framework of "our" civilization, and that these conditions tend to sharpen social contrasts and defeat his aims; yet he claims, in effect, that out of the minds of trained leaders, despite the hostile influences of economic forces as a whole, an intellectual force will be made to flow which will check these dangerous influences and divert them into harmonious streams.

Thus Professor Ellwood finds it necessary to reject the materialist conception of history and seek help from a dualism which relies mainly on the ideas of free will, the immortal soul, and that god-given moral force by which any man can rise superior to, and dominate, his circumstances whenever he cares to exercise the will to do so.

In short, the writer of the book takes sides with the priest, the Christian-scientist, the charlatan, the ignoramus and the metaphysician, on this important issue. Since, however, few will take up a logical position on that side owing to the very obviousness of most of the facts against them, a refuge is sought in a catholic eclecticism, the confusion of which makes it extremely difficult to nail down the basic error.

The professor is, nevertheless, for all his eclecticism, clear-headed enough to see where the chief danger to his position lies. He devotes considerable space to a discussion of the materialist conception of history. He admits practically all that is contended for in that philosophy; but since he must find some way of escape, he does so by misunderstanding or misrepresentation. He says:

"If the governing class will keep in touch with all classes; if those in authority in law, in industry, in education, in religion will seek first the public good; if all classes will seek to keep open the means of understanding and sympathy with all other classes, there will be no more need of revolution as a means of social progress than there is of children's diseases in individual development." (p. 231.)

We have it on the best authority that there is much virtue in your "H." And the professor has by no means exhausted its possibilities. For example, if —. But why go on? The labouring man is learning in bitterness how utterly futile is the expectation that those in authority in industry, law and all the rest, will ever "seek first the public good." Therefore from the facts upon which the learned professor bases his case we know that revolution is inevitable. Not only is it inevitable, but the professor himself tells us that it is also justifiable, for he says (p. 100):

"The dependence of man upon economic conditions increases as civilization advances. But," he adds, "when we have conceded that modern industry has shaped the main outlines of our civilization, that is not sufficient warrant for concluding that our industrial system determines every thing in our social life. On the contrary, it needs but little investigation to show that there are many intimate personal relations which are very far from being determined by the economic system under which we live.

Men still think and feel and act in these intimate relations not so differently from what they did long before the present economic system was born. Many of the ideas, ideals and values by which men live, in other words, far antedate our present economic system, and will probably survive it long after it is dead. It is not true, therefore, that the spiritual elements in life, and especially those not contained in moral, religious and artistic ideas and ideals, are determined by methods of producing and distributing wealth."

It appears, however, that it is not so much the evils of to-day which move the professor, as the fear of revolution. He indicates with apprehension (p. 83) that the industrial system generates class antagonism; that class conflicts increase; that class interest has become a war cry; that class hatred grows; and that a gulf, in social conditions as well as in feeling, develops between the fortunate and the less fortunate: "a gulf which the sympathy and understanding necessary for social solidarity finds it difficult to bridge."

And how does the author set about his difficult task? In the first place by defining the social problem as "the problem of humans living together." The definition is significant. It implies that a means is to be found of softening the antagonisms so that capitalist and labourer can peacefully live together. It leads him naturally to a gospel of social harmony by means of reform and mutual concession. Above all he abhors revolution. It is the end of all things. Like practically all of capitalism's salaried intellectuals, he fears the working class far more than he dislikes his present masters; and there is nothing he dreads more than a working-class dictatorship. Like most of his brethren, also, he agrees with all progressive thought—to a certain extent, and there are few advanced movements that do not get a kind word from him. But what he thinks the world really needs is "new soul," even more than a new economic system.

On the professor's own showing, however, there is little hope for his solution. He acknowledges that the gulf between the classes widens; that the rulers are deaf to humanity; and that the workers are without "soul." He laments that the machinery for national and social peace inevitably breaks down. Yet he hopes by religion, by moral education, and by social reform to

make the world better. He believes that the existing system alone accounts for everything in man's ideas and acts. That is a fiction of the professor's, and shows to what he is reduced in order to make a case. Ideas that are the outcome of past social conditions tend to persist, and are altered or modified where they come into conflict with succeeding social orders. This is notoriously the case, as shown in the pamphlet published by the Socialist Party, in the matter of religion to which the professor refers. The modifications that have taken place in this phase of ideology reflect in an obvious way the changing needs of changing social conditions.

For the rest, as the author of the book under review rightly surmises, revolution is inevitable

in the event of the failure of his panacea. Neither in the working class nor in the ruling class can the scutiful humanitarian ideals upon which he relies become dominant. Our social circumstances destroy them. Present economic conditions sow hate, not love. Figs cannot grow on thistles. If it were necessary to wait for a complete moral regeneration of the working class; if the mass had first to overflow with love and charity for our oppressors, our case as well as the professor's, would be utterly helpless.

Fortunately it is not so. Economic development is with us. On it our essential case rests. The propaganda of revolutionary Socialism is a direct effect of present social conditions. Capitalist conditions indelibly stamp the ruling class with the selfish, cruel and hypocritical qualities of the exploiter; and we know what a little part sentiment plays in the struggle. Therefore are we undimmed, even at the prospect of a ruthless and hate-filled proletarian battling desperately for the destruction of the present hellish system in order to make at last possible that development of society which shall, through social co-operation and mutuality of interest make realisable for the first time since primitive communism, the ideals of social harmony and human brotherhood.

SHRAPNEL SPLINTERS.

Dilly, dilly, come and be killed.

Why are all the labour crooks visiting "the front?"

Is it merely to run round telling us what a picnic it is?

War is hell. Capitalism is war. Therefore, Capitalism is hell.

When are we going to dig the German Fleet out "like rats"?

Why has the gas-bag hero of Sydney-st. been so quiet lately; is he waiting for it to come off?

When Mr. Churchill said: "There are worse things than bloodshed," had he a prophetic vision of losing his job?

Now that the value of physically fit men (such as shunters) has risen so, are we within sight of the adoption of automatic couplings?

Who are our merchant seamen most grateful to—the man who lowered the Plimsol line "with a stroke of the pen," or the man who raise it with a torpedo?

Which is the easier death, to be "gassed" in a blanching-powder factory, or "gassed" in the trenches? St. Helena's chemical workers want to know.

Is it true that the miners who have enlisted don't like trench warfare because it presents no change from the features of death by gas, explosion, fire, and earthfall of their trade?

What is to become of the mangel crop now that those patriots who cannot pull a trigger in the trenches have been frustrated in their noble endeavour to commence operations on the moors on the 5th instead of on the 12th?

"The enemy in their vipers' march know not what they are doing. Let them beware, for they are unshackling Russia!" (L. George at Bunker, Aug. 5th, 1915.)

May we, then, be permitted to say "hock!" to those who are about to unshackle Russia?

If right is worsted in this conflict civilisation will be put back for generations.—(Same speaker, same time, same place.)

May we, then, be permitted to assume that it is wrong that is unshackling Russia, and right, in the persons of Russian autocracy and its nobility, that is preventing it from doing so? Or is the solution to the riddle this: that Russia unshackled is civilisation put back?

The Johnson-Jeffries fight was banned from the Cenotaph halls, but the Willett-Johnson fight was not. Is this change of policy due to the sudden discovery both in France and England that the man of colour is morally fit to fight the white man (and therefore to give him a hiding) or to the fact that in the first case the black man won, while in the second case he lost? I only want to know where we stand on the colour question.

Bill Bailey.

"A WHIFF OF GRAPE."

In the face of such a predicament as faces our lords and masters at the present moment the so-called labour problem assumes a visage that to the Socialist is both significant and humorous. The "patriotic" masters, in spite of the great need of the State for the good-will of their slaves, at least in the workshops, mines, factories and other and suchlike places where these slaves assume any importance at all, adhere with the tenacity of limpets to their old and natural policy of grinding the faces of those they have on the economic grindstone. However dire the need of the country that really, in substance and in fact, is theirs may be, their leech-like propensities are only unfeeling-like in that they cannot gorge themselves to satiety.

The Welsh coal owners provide a typical example. In spite of the fact that, as Mr. Lloyd George says, "coal is everything for us, and we want more of it to win victory." "It bends, it moulds, it fills the weapons of war"; in spite of the fact that their war fleet depends for its very life upon Welsh coal, the owners of the Welsh mines would not release in the smallest degree, their clutch upon the throats of their wage-slaves. They could not realise, it seemed, that the whip which had driven the miners into the pits under the pre-war terms and conditions no longer had the power that it had in those days. The needs of the master class were too great and too urgent to permit of a resort to the old dodge of trying to starve the miners into submission. But the mine owners either were blind to this, or they counted upon the "patriotism" of the men to take the place of the whip of starvation. Anyhow, they drove the miners beyond the limits of patience before they abdicated, only showing their patriotism by placing themselves in the hands of the Government when they had lost the move.

This sort of thing has been going on all over the place. Everywhere the workers, faced with an increase of some fifty per cent. in the cost of living, have had to struggle bitterly to gain an advance of wages equal to but a fraction of the increased cost of living. And when they have been compelled to resort to the final step—the strike, what a howl of astonishment, indignation, and righteous (!) wrath has gone up from our masters' Press!

Who does not remember what an "indelible stain" besmirched the "patriotism" of the Clyde shipyard men when they were guilty of refusing to let their masters have their labour-power on their own terms? Who forgets what scoundrels the L.C.C. tramwaymen were for daring to put forward demands and taking the only action that counts for much in the way of supporting those demands? And now it is the turn of the miners to be upheld as men who broke pledges—pledges which they had not given; who had disobeyed their leaders—leaders whom the men pay to obey them; who were murdering their comrades in the trenches—as if it were miners and not the masters who had sent them there.

Of course it could not be expected that the prostitute scribblers of the prostitute Press should remember that there are two sides to a disagreement as well as to an agreement. That the masters had deliberately chosen to sacrifice the efficiency of their own fleet and imperil their own forces in Flanders rather than relax a little the hard terms upon which their slaves could go down into the pits and tussle with Death for coal, was a facet of the position that the capitalist penmen would not be expected to have eyes for. Holders of any other commodity—any of the multitudinous products of labour—were to be permitted to push up the prices of their goods to the highest limit the unique situation gave them the opportunity to, and, no matter how necessary those commodities were, or how much misery their doings brought upon immense numbers—of the people who don't count, the working people—no word of stricture fell upon them. In the early days of the war, when it was claimed that only State control of the drink traffic could solve the problem of the shirker, the Government attempted to secure such control, but the brewers and distillers and other gentlemen of The Trade kicked up such a rum-pus that the Asquithian courage ceded out and

the project fell through—yet of all those newspapers who had shouted from the housetops that drink was lessening the output of munitions and killing the men in the trenches, not one ever applied to the brewers and distillers who refused to permit the drink to be placed beyond the reach of the "drinkers and shirkers" (and not, be it said, out of any love of the liberty of these latter) even the least of the filthy epithets that showered upon the men who had dared to claim a larger share of the wealth which they and they alone produced.

It was the sycophant claim of our masters' Press that the miners should have continued to work while still negotiating; but those who best know the master class in general and the mine-owners in particular, know very well that had they adopted this course they might have followed it to the end of the war—when the dispute would probably have been settled with the aid of policemen's truncheons, as in the pre-war days. But as a matter of fact the men had tried this plan of negotiating while continuing to work, like men who were afraid to fight for what they were demanding. They had had a bellyful. Their leaders had played into the masters' hands and were treacherously advising the men to accept their exploiters' terms. In any case where procrastination means that the masters are escaping, even if only for the moment the heart-rending necessity of having to part with a share of their plunder, negotiation is the slowest coach upon the road; but when the masters have got the men's leaders on their side, then, indeed, the coach properly breaks down.

Those people who talk so glibly about negotiation seem to base their contention upon the pretension that all the employers want in order to induce them to meet the men's demands is to have their ears tickled with sweet reasonableness. They know, however, that this is entirely false. They know that the only argument that ever touches the masters as such is the argument of force. There is no other effective appeal either to their reason or to their feeling. So long as they thought that the patriotic fervour of the men or the cajolery of the leaders would avert a strike negotiations brought the men no nearer the satisfaction of their demands. But look at the effect that was produced by the positive action of ceasing to work!

At once the Government, who showed a very mild interest in the terms and conditions under which coal came out of the mines so long as it did come out, was galvanised into the most acute interest and vigorous action; at once the masters, finding themselves, in the absence of an army of blacklegs to fall back upon, utterly licked, retired from the contest, left the matter in the hands of the Government, and expressed a very patriotic willingness to do whatever the Government told them. In a week the men were back at work again, in the enjoyment of the substance of pretty well all they demanded, if not the shadow, instead of the usual reward of negotiation, the capture of the shadow with the mere integument of the substance, or none.

This result was the fullest justification of the action the miners had taken. This fact, however, did not save them from almost universal abuse, amongst which not the least venomous was that of their (so-called) leaders. These men, of course, who had struggled so hard to make them submit to the terms of the mine-owners, were the lamb-like submission in the Welsh mine-fields, had to be saved as far as possible. So the miners were penalised by being brought under the Act which is absurdly useless as against two or three hundred thousand miners, though it may suffice to deal with a couple of score of coppersmiths. The "silver tongue" had only the task of persuading the men to swallow this "bitter" pill, of disguising the completeness of the men's victory, and throwing over the affair just that appearance of "wisdom, generosity, and restraint" which their back, Mr. Hartshorn, attributes to the Coalition Government. But as for whiffs of grape and swords of destruction, they are the mere invention of a discredited labour leader, of a would-be trade union boss who aspires to ambitious heights under the patronage of the workers' enemies by assuming the rôle of dictator, and who is mortified in spirit by being beaten by those he would control, and jeopardised in fortune by the success of a course taken in defiance of leaders.

"Public opinion, rendered nervous, savage, and ruthless by the present national dangers, would have approved the course taken, and,

apart from sentimental resentment, the organised labour movement in the country would, perhaps, have acquiesced. I say emphatically that no leader has a moral right to lead his organisation into such a perilous impasse, and no leader with a proper conception of industrial strategy or of the tremendous powers which can be arrayed against labour when it makes a tactical slip would dream of doing.

A few more days of restraint would have given the Government the chance to rectify its undoubted errors, and would have immensely strengthened the position of the federation with the public. But the opportunity was not given, and last week ended the sword of destruction, though the men as a body did not know it, was hanging over the federation.

During those critical days the Government were tempted—there is no doubt about it—to deal with this isolated and sectional problem by the savage and crude old method of a whiff of grapeshot, which has in many of the troubled periods of history destroyed the rising hopes of democracy and heralded a long reign of reaction and repression.

"What saved us and the country from such a disaster? It is only fair to acknowledge, without reservation, that we were saved from that disaster not by any strength of our own, but by the wisdom, generosity, and restraint with which the ultimate crisis was dealt with the Coalition Government."

These, it is quite easy to see by anyone who has a fair knowledge of the facts of the case, are the words of a man who is under the necessity of rehabilitating himself in the eyes of those with whom it is important that he should stand well. The implication, however, that the fools who rushed in where such angels as Mr. Vernon Hartshorn feared to tread brought the miners so near to such dire perils as indicated is quite without foundation. A whiff of grapeshot, indeed! The sword of destruction, by gosh! It would be interesting to have Mr. Hartshorn's authority for these statements.

The fact is that the whiff of grapeshot and the sword of destruction were quite "outside the range of practical politics," as the capitalist critics so fondly say of Socialism. The mere fact that the mine owners recognised that the game was up and retired behind the Government shows this. If it is ever true that Governments take the line of least resistance, it is true at the moment when they have got more than enough trouble on hand in other directions. The line of least resistance was certainly not the line that might be cleared by whiffs of grapeshot. Mr. Hartshorn, even, had not the courage to state that the organised labour movement in the country "would have acquiesced" in the grapeshot treatment without that saving "perhaps."

When Mr. Lloyd George took his "silver tongue" to Wales it was to talk a good face on the matter from the Government point of view. A certain prestige had to be maintained if possible. The "organised labour movement in the country" was not to get the idea that it had only to cease working in order to be granted anything that it wanted. The face of labour leaders, who had promised that, in return for being left out of the Munitions Act there should be lamb-like submission in the Welsh mine-fields, had to be saved as far as possible. So the miners were penalised by being brought under the Act which is absurdly useless as against two or three hundred thousand miners, though it may suffice to deal with a couple of score of coppersmiths. The "silver tongue" had only

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Let the workers understand their own affairs, shake off their "leaders," and victory is theirs.

A. E. JACOMB.

I am guilty of no exaggeration when I say that last week-end the very existence of the federation as a trade union organisation hung in the balance. Public opinion was against it because of the refusal to give the Government a little more time. It stood abandoned by the whole of the labour movement of the country. The occasion was a unique opportunity for a bold, bloodthirsty reaction.

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the project fell through—yet of all those newspapers who had shouted from the housetops that drink was lessening the output of munitions and killing the men in the trenches, not one ever applied to the brewers and distillers who refused to permit the drink to be placed beyond the reach of the "drinkers and shirkers" (and not, be it said, out of any love of the liberty of these latter) even the least of the filthy epithets that showered upon the men who had dared to claim a larger share of the wealth which they and they alone produced.

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ROPES OF SAND.

"A WAY TO PREVENT WAR," by ALLEN L. BENSON. 180 pp. cloth, 1 dollar. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, U.S.A.

"If the people were in favour of war, the way to end war would be to convert the people to peace. This book is devoted to the task of showing that since the people are opposed to war the logical way to end it is to take the power to declare war from minorities who misuse it and vest it in the people who may be depended upon not to use it at all." Thus does the author of the volume under review open his preface.

The busy reviewer who takes up a book for the purpose of criticism, and finds the key to his labours in the first paragraph, is a lucky man. "Since the people are opposed to war?" What an assumption to build up a 180 page tome upon! Had the writer lived in England in August 1914; had he taken part in the perils of our outdoor propaganda soon after the outbreak of hostilities; had he mounted the public platform in any of the belligerent countries last autumn, when the British bulldog was a gnashing of teeth, and the French poodle and the Russian bear were tying themselves up in true lovers' knots in their patriotic frenzy, and the German two headed eagle was doing the porcupine act with his neck feathers, and only the Dutch cheese maintained his customary sanity (because he wasn't a belligerent)—had he, the author of "A way to Prevent War," taken the platform then and tried to tell the people that they "are opposed to war," he would have experienced experiences that might have prevented him rushing into print on such a flimsy ground as the conception that the people would never use the power to declare war at all.

Mr. Churchill has told us that there are worse things than bloodshed, and it is true. Mr. Churchill, of course, meant that there are worse things than the shedding of other people's blood, and thus put even fewer dissentients will raise voice against the statement. But if we are to believe Mr. Benson, there are no conceivable circumstances, no wrongs and oppression, which could urge the people to resort to arms if the option of peace and war lay with them.

Well, I for one say not so, and fervently hope not so. Bad, indeed, as this welter of blood is—and its horror vibrates not less strongly through the Socialist fibres of the reviewer than through the reformist fabric of his author—it is not so bad, by a very long chalk, as that the working class, if the power to make war was vested in them, could "be depended upon never to use it at all"—merely because, under Mr. Benson's scheme, those who voted for war would be the first to be sent to the front.

And hence also we find Mr. Benson telling us (p. 101) "The advocates of the war referendum plan declare that if diplomacy were democratized and the war-making power vested in themselves, no war could be begun for which the people had not voted"—which, of course, is not less fatuous because it is true, if the people can be inflamed to desire war.

The present futile and deplorable struggle, with all its appalling waste of life and all its stupendous agony and suffering, is not so bad as that other condition because it indicates that the workers are not licking in the "animal" courage necessary for the achievement of their emancipation from wage-slavery, while on the other hand, if they would never resort to armed conflict at all under the condition that those who voted for war would be the first to be called upon to serve, that would simply indicate that they have not the courage to strike the blow which they must strike in order to set themselves free.

Mr. Benson says: "The world is tired of war." This may be true enough now; and anyway it is pretty certain to be true before the war is finished. That does not mean, however, that in a decade or so the world would decline to resort to force of arms again should circumstances similar to those which caused the present conflagration then obtain. No one, in all probability, will be more heartily tired of the war before it is finished than the capitalist class, who have got to pay for it; yet even our author would not deny that it would be idle to expect the capitalist class to abolish war. Anyway he says that his program "will not be installed by the capitalist class." (Page 4.)

What better reason has Mr. Benson for maintaining that the people (by whom he seems to mean the working class) need not the referendum on war in order to abolish war?

The bottom of the argument is knocked out

by the author's own admission (p. 77) that "It is unfortunately true that scheming diplomats and jingo journalists have the power so to inflame peoples that they desire war." What, then, is the use of talking about giving the people the "direct vote on the war"? To bamboozle them into desiring war is to bamboozle them into voting war; and to lay the voter under the penalty of having to fight if he votes for fighting is simply to challenge his courage. These things are patent to everyone save the crank who thinks he has discovered a short cut to the millennium.

The very fact that it is true that "scheming diplomats and jingo journalists have the power to so inflame peoples that they desire war" shows that it is not so much the referendum on war that the people need as knowledge. Knowledge alone can save them from the wiles of the "scheming diplomats and jingo journalists" interested in stirring up race hatred and exploiting the cowardice of those who have not the courage to face the charge of the white feather lancers. Granted that Mr. Benson, as a part of his scheme, provides the same penalty for those who advocate war through the Press or on the platform as for those who vote for it in the ballot, but the capitalists, with their unlimited means of inducing men and women to take personal risks (as witness the system of espionage existing in all capitalist countries) would find this very little deterrent to the people being so inflamed as to desire war.

Knowledge is the only safeguard against the workers being dragged into wars that do not concern them—knowledge that is, which has found its consummation in the capture of the machinery of government. This knowledge must be Socialist knowledge. It must be knowledge of the unity of interest of the workers of all countries, and the antagonism between that interest and the interest of the capitalists of all lands.

And mark this, that knowledge itself, while it precludes the possibility of the workers being inflamed for capitalist war, must on the other hand inflame them against the capitalists in the bitterness of all war—the class war. As opposing interests are the cause of all wars, unity of interest is the only absolute safeguard against war. The Socialist recognises this and acts accordingly; the pseudo-Socialist does not recognise it, and he acts accordingly also.

Hence we find Mr. Benson telling us (p. 101) "The advocates of the war referendum plan declare that if diplomacy were democratized and the war-making power vested in themselves, no war could be begun for which the people had not voted"—which, of course, is as absurd as it would be to say that the slave who lagged laboriously at an oar in a Roman galley under the lash of the slave driver had economic power in his hands. The differences between the chattel-slave and the wage-slave in this respect are due to the political rights of the latter, which are in turn the outcome of economic necessity.

In the leading article of the July "S.S." the statement occurs, referred to by our correspondent, of the need for the working class to "become masters of the State, and use its supreme economic power for the liberation of human kind from wage-slavery." This, of course, is the very reason we are a political party. It is because the State has supreme power over industry. The article in question showed how the S.S. was rapidly becoming more and more the direct exploiter of industrial undertakings. The political State, with its armed forces and machinery of government, is ever more obviously the supreme "power over industry" that must be captured by the working class. Until the workers control it, they are themselves controlled by it both economically and politically, that is to say, both by government and by private capitalists.

The essential difference, therefore, between economic power and political power, in this connection, is that the political power is the supreme economic power. Individual capitalists only wield economic power by virtue of their political control of the State, which guarantees, enforces, limits or extends their economic power.

This simple fact, that the political State is the supreme economic power, is always overlooked by Syndicalists. It enforces the need for political action above all, as the co-ordinating and culmination of the organised wage struggle; and it shows how entirely correct was A. E. J. in his stricture upon the S.I.P. of A.

though not altogether new to English readers. The events leading up to the Spanish American War are also worth perusal, and in particular the story of the "Maine." How the American Government resisted for ten long years every demand to have the sunken warship raised from the slime of Havana Harbour, and how it was eventually raised, taken

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicet-ct., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

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KILBURN.—Sec., c/o F. R. Edwards, 319 West End-ct., W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 104 Malvern-rd., W. Kilburn.

MANCHESTER.—B. Cheshire, Sec., 10 Tempest-ct., Ardwick, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the “Palace,” Oxford Street, and 4th Weds. at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec., at above address.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

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BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

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THAT society as at presen constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

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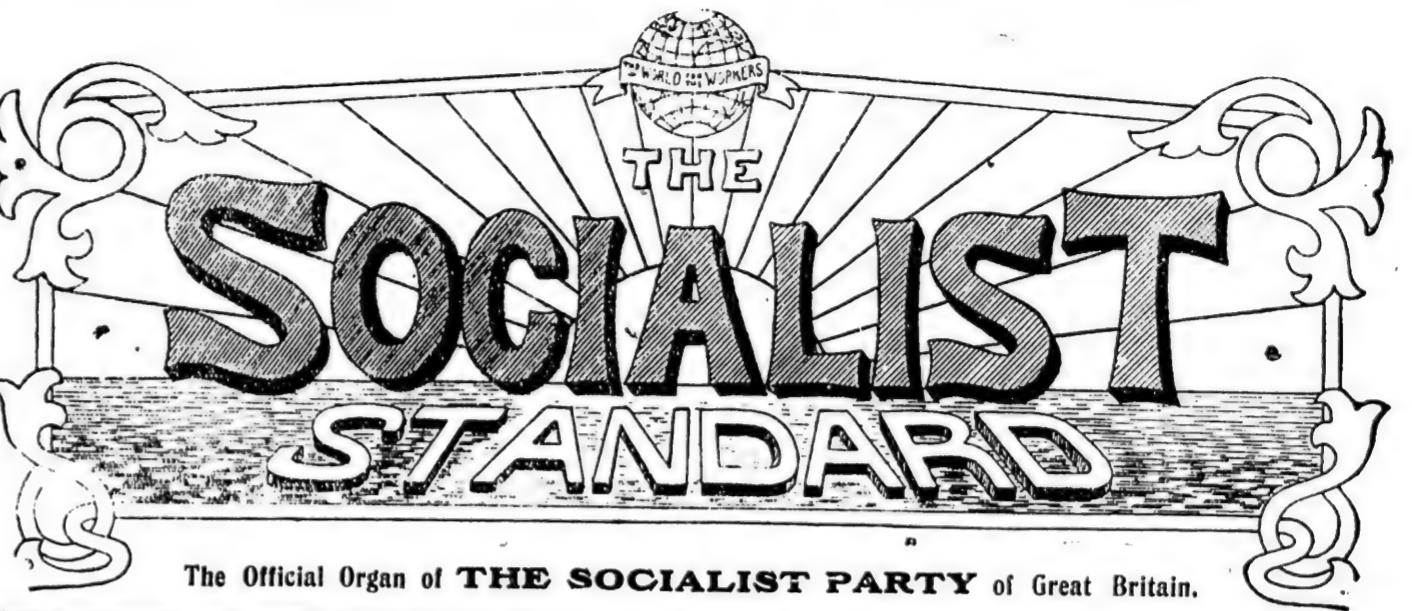
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LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A HISTORIC DOCUMENT.

OUR VINDICATION.

In the course of the last few years the German Social-Democratic Party has been dealt with more than once in these columns, and the exactness of our criticism finds striking confirmation in the article here reprinted from the "International Socialist Review." The "unity," the large membership, the huge voting strength, factors that would count for so much in a working-class movement born of and maintained by Socialist knowledge—these things, when brought about by desire for reform of the capitalist system are seen to be fleeting phenomena. Again, therefore, it is permissible to point out that on the way to working-class emancipation there are no short cuts whereby the necessity of Socialist education can be obviated. All this has been demonstrated time and time again, but this article of Rosa Luxemburg's is something more than a repetition of an old warning. It shows that one of the most important lessons for the working-class movement is being learned, no errors of the past recognised. And that is why, although we cannot endorse the writer's remarks as to rebuilding the International, we welcome the pronouncement. For if, in the conditions obtaining to-day, there are those in Germany who even now are engaged in combating the old policy of compromise, it is certain that this work and its results will increase greatly when normal conditions return.

(From the "International Socialist Review.")

The Rebuilding of the International.

BY ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Note.—In April Rosa Luxemburg and Bruno Mehring published the first number of a magazine called "The International." It proved to be also the last number, for the censor forbade its further publication. But many a journal has run on for years without printing as much interesting matter as was crowded between the covers of this one issue. Rosa Luxemburg's article was left unfinished, for she was hustled into jail before "The International" went to press. Karl Liebknecht was prevented from making his contribution; the recruiting officer tied his hands on him and sent him to a military camp. But the two editors, Clara Zetkin, and other brilliant and earnest comrades managed to set into this single number of their journal a fairly complete statement of the position of Germany's anti-war Socialists, and a thorough-going criticism of the actions and theories of the war "Socialists." The following article is reprinted here because it shows what the real Socialists of Germany are thinking at the present time. There could be no better proof of the fundamental soundness of the international movement. Rosa Luxemburg and her fellow-workers are the very best evidence to show that she is not entirely right when she says "The International has broken down." W. E. B.)

On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democracy handed in its political resignation, and on the same date the Socialist International went to pieces. All attempts to deny it is fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This breakdown is without parallel in history. Socialism or Imperialism—this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labour parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programmes, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Demo-

¹ The plain facts refute this ridiculous statement of "W. E. B."—Eds., "S.S."

cracy, which had been the first to recognise it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to imperialism. Never before, since there has been a class struggle, since there have been political parties, has there existed a party which after fifty years of uninterrupted growth after the attainment of a prominent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events which none can elude. The moment Socialists cease to oppose war they become, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The labour unions who have discontinued their struggles for improved conditions, the women who have withdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and in the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism—all of these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When or where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness? When was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the Press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its all to a cause against which it had sworn again and again to sacrifice the last drop of its blood. The mighty organisation of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half-century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition in this war. All our education of the masses makes them now the obedient and effective servants of the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht,

Bebel and Singer, trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg may lead it.

II.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of to-day and their words of yesterday. Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities. Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in most beautiful harmony with our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of international Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great problem for each proletariat is, Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism hitherto maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class-struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class-solidarity becomes the dominant feature of internal affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist manifesto is added an important amendment, and it reads now, according to Kautsky's revision: "Workers of all lands, unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" Today, "Down with the Russians and French!" to-morrow, "We are brothers all!" For, as Kautsky says in *Die Neue Zeit*, the International

is "essentially an instrument of peace," but "no effective agent in war."

This convenient theory introduces an entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based upon exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics, are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx established it, all history is the history of class struggles. According to Kautsky's revision we must add : except in times of war. Now human development has been periodically marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula: a period of class struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts between the nations; and then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts—and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations of social life as they exist in time of peace are reversed by the outbreak of war. And again, at the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes"; it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefinitely.

Now all the known facts of human history run counter to this new theory. They show that there is necessary and dialectic relation between class struggle and war. The class struggle develops into war and war develops into the class struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Reformation, in the Flemish wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905.

Moreover, theoretically, Kautsky's idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapour. Now the proletarian class struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise to the struggle of the classes become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship—all these and other influences tend to increase the class differences during time of war. And likewise the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not suspended; on the contrary, with the suspension of constitutional rights it becomes sheer class dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war, how can the inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist groups, and of the necessity for capitalist expansion. Now these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the outbreak of war inevitable. For war is, as Kautsky loves to quote from Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics with other means." And the imperialist phase of capitalist rule, through competition in building armaments, has made peace illusory, for it has placed us regularly under military dictatorship, and has thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic interpretation of history leads to a dilemma. Our new revisionists are between the devil and the sea. Either the class struggle persists in war as the chief life condition of the proletariat and the declaration of class harmony by Socialist leaders is a crime against the working class; or carrying on the class struggle in time of peace is a crime against the "interests of the nation" and the "security of the fatherland." Either class struggle or class harmony is the fundamental factor in our social life, both in peace and war.

Either the International must remain a heap of ruins after the war or its resurrection will take place on the basis of the class struggle

from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not appear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotised the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognising and disowning our own weaknesses and failures since August 4, by giving up the tactics introduced since that time, can we begin the rebuilding of the International. And the first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the common interests of the international proletariat.

A RENEWED ACQUAINTANCESHIP.

With the cessation of our propaganda meetings, the time hitherto spent in that direction may be spent in various ways. Our internal affairs, our Party press, and our "relations" with our comrades in distant climes are sufficient to absorb most of the meagre leisure-time allowed us by our exploiters; but the absence of the stress and bustle of our out-door work presents an occasional opportunity for us to "rest on our oars." If not one of the most instructive, at least one of the most amusing, ways of employing ourselves on these occasions is to reflect for a few moments on the types of the opponents who have essayed battle with us from time to time.

Our opponents have been, like the younger Mr. Wells' knowledge of London was, extensive and peculiar. We have had the obvious axe-grinding party hack, the honest seeker after truth, the hopeless ignoramus, the meddled, untrustworthy Little Bethelite, the blustering, bucolic Tory blood, and a whole horde of others. All had their interesting points, but there was one individual among them who imposed himself upon the present writer above all others.

He was a short, sparsely built man; his eyes were sad and sombre; he spoke deferentially and at times nervously. The sufferings of the working-class he told us, he knew were terrible. Something ought to be done, he thought, to alleviate their lot. He always assured us of his deep sorrow and sympathy, but he used almost to shrivel up with horror at our remedy. How shocking that we should try to stir up strife between the workers and the masters! Could we not see that our revolutionary doctrines would lead to bloodshed? His little sad eyes would partially close and his fragile frame shudder at the thought.

One could hardly help feeling sorry for this poor fellow. He seemed to be continually brooding over the matter. The possibility of bloodshed seemed to obsess him, and at times his wan appearance bespoke hours of anguish and distress. He surely would worry himself into his grave.

In view of the present happenings it is hardly to be wondered at that one's thoughts should wander off to that poor fellow. With millions of the world's mankind flying at one another's throats, Nature's beautiful plains and dellies strewn with the dead and dying bodies of our brothers; with nooks and hillocks, the very charm of which beckons us, used to secrete instruments of death and destruction; with the accumulated knowledge of ages of science surrendered to Mars to perfect his method of murder, who could help feeling genuinely sorry for him? One wondered where he would be hiding himself, that is, if he had survived the shock.

* * *

I passed a recruiting station to-day. A voice with a suspicion of familiarity reached my ears and I glanced at the speaker. There he was, our hater of bloodshed, appealing for recruits. His eyes, open wider than ever seemed possible before, were almost bright. One missed his listless carriage; his tone was no longer deferential; it could very nearly be described as defiant. And this is what he said: "I wish I was young enough to take my place in the firing line and help to exterminate those filthy Huns. Blimey! It was a funny experience for me.

W. H. S.

What do you owe to capitalism? Your chains. The "Socialist Standard" makes an excellent file.

THE CIRCULATION OF CAPITAL. ITS EFFECT UPON SOCIETY.

In present-day society production is capitalised; that is to say, wealth functions as capital. It is the nature of this capital to take on peculiar characteristics. All capital is such that it seeks to fructify, become ever larger and larger.

The process is carried on like this. The capitalist, i.e., owner of capital, starts out with a certain amount of money for the purpose of making this amount into a larger one. This is how he sets about it. With his money he buys means of production, e.g., a workshop and machinery, and then raw materials: he next buys labour-power for the purpose of setting his works going; in other words, for producing wealth. At the end of a certain time the capitalist has gained produced of a greater value than he formerly laid out in money for procuring means of production, raw material, and labour-power, or which is the same, the money he laid out as constant capital, i.e., that portion of his capital whose value does not vary, and the money he laid out as variable capital for labour-power, i.e., that portion of his capital which brings him in extra, or added value. But yet he has not received that larger amount of money that he sets out to obtain. How then is it procured? He must deliver his goods to a certain market for sale. For instance, if it is boots he has produced then he must seek a market where boots are in demand. If he is fortunate enough to sell all, or nearly all, his boots he will then have realised his extra value, his profit, i.e., reckoning on the assumption that his boots were sold at, or about, the average market price.

It will be seen then, that capital must of necessity circulate. There must be an ever whirling round of commodities, i.e., articles of exchange. For this markets must be found; hence the keen competition that we see between the leading capitalist countries to gain colonies. This is the prime cause of wars in capitalist society. A successful war to a country is, generally speaking, a starting point for industrial development and supremacy. As De Gibbons, speaking on England's industrial greatness, said:

"The high place the nation (England) thus came to occupy was due to various causes, among which the state of European politics in the latter part of the eighteenth century may be reckoned. If we consider the condition of the great European powers after the peace which terminated the Seven Years War in 1763, we perceive that England was in a favourable position. In the first place she had seriously injured her great commercial and colonial rival, France, in her possessions both in India and North America. By the Seven Years War England had gained Canada, Florida, and all the French possessions (except New Orleans) on the Mississippi River, while in India the victories of Clive had established English influence as supreme and laid the foundation for a further extension of trade and sovereignty."

There can be no doubt about it that, with England's acquirement of colonies, her trade developed by leaps and bounds; so that it is only quite natural that the countries which have come later in the field as capitalistically developed countries should seek to gain markets. Hence the present European war which is at bottom competition for the Balkan States and other markets.

There are, however, people of the Norman Angell type of mind (whatever that may mean), who claim that war is of no benefit at all to a country; it is caused, they say, through ignorance plus military vanity. It must be said here, that we are speaking in the capitalist sense. We agree that war does not and cannot benefit the great mass of the people of a country i.e., the workers. But it does benefit the capitalists of a victorious country as Norman Angell himself attests when quoting Sir J. R. Seeley in the appendix to his book, "The Great Illusion." Says Seeley:

"It is admitted that a particular order of men—namely, the merchants who trade with the Colonies—may have benefited from the monopoly, but their gain has been at the expense of the bulk of the nation."

September, 1915.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

3

Since wars are proclaimed by the ruling capitalist class, this class will see to it that there is a good chance of gain before they embark on so costly a speculation as war. So we may dismiss this Norman Angell idea by pointing out that the richest capitalist country (England) has not lost but benefited by her possessions; and that the other capitalist countries know this only too well, hence their endeavour to do likewise. The capitalist countries do not, as a rule, seek to conquer territory that has been already capitalised, as the Angellists seem to imagine, but to gain territory where capitalist conditions are very little or not at all in vogue, e.g., China.

Many times do we hear the Angell economists (?) trotting out the claim that markets are free to all; it is the one that can sell the cheapest that corners it, they say. Yes, that is all very well, but who has the monopoly of a market at the average price? Obviously the occupiers of the country or colony. For that reason a country without colonies and depending on home markets is forced to institute a system of protective tariffs to stop the influx of cheap goods.

What is the effect of the situation then? It is this: A leading capitalist country with little or no colonies must, if she wishes to capture a foreign market, undersell her competitors. She can do this by either of two methods, or by both methods together. By cutting down expenses as much as possible in the works, or by relinquishing a certain portion of the profits. The former can be done by speeding up the worker to the highest pitch, and the latter by employing commercial travellers and agents who, by various devices, such as advertising extensively, seek to get a sale for certain products: all of which expenses must come out of the profits of the capitalist. Thus it will readily be seen how handicapped the capitalists of a country without colonies are.

Further, it will be seen that the capitalists of a country so handicapped will be forced to develop their industries to the highest possible extent. In such countries like America will the anomalies that capital imposes upon society, e.g., sweating and unemployment, riches and poverty, be most marked.

With a view to helping the business man out of the difficulties of competition for markets and the antagonism of the workers, an American writer, Norris A. Briscoe, A.M., Ph.D., has written a book, entitled "Economics of Efficiency." I quote you the following rather lengthy passage without any apology:

At bottom of page 3 he says:

"The nineteenth century has been frequently called the century of the machine. Successful industrial management was concerned largely with obtaining greater efficiency through two sources: firstly, the acquiring of a more efficient plant through more efficient building, and arrangement, and—secondly, the acquiring of more improved and specialised equipment for the different processes. Production was greatly increased, which necessitated more extensive markets. Manufacturers realised that industrial development was dependent upon markets. The question of markets has always been a fundamental one in industrial progress. Improved machinery and production on a larger scale drove the manufacturer to extend his field from the locality to the nation, and further improvements made more extended markets an absolute necessity. With the entrance of our commodities into the world's markets competition became more intense, and the question of costs became more important; but during the nineteenth century, the average employer, in his efforts to lower costs, centralised his attention upon buildings, equipment, machinery, and methods. Near the close of the century a few more enterprising employers had their attention attracted to the human element, the most important in production, and this attraction is the beginning of a new science of business, the science of efficiency, which is a secure and sound foundation for further growth and greater industrial progress."

And on page 5 we read:

"Manufacturers were amazed at the extent of the wastes which were found in their plants. Wastes of material, time and energy were found

everywhere. A prominent manufacturer declared that they were getting only about 50 per cent. of the workmen in their factory.

Another stated that few shops produced more than 60 per cent. of the work that it would be possible for them to produce with the same working force and the same physical equipment. The chief problem which arose was how to eliminate these wastes. How can an industrial country hampered with the presence of wastes compete with one with wastes partially or wholly eliminated? It is impossible; it is a dollar and cent proposition, and when manufacturers realise this they will pay heed to the conditions existing in their plants, and make endeavours to eliminate as much waste as possible."

Salucci accuses Marx of ridiculing a manifesto issued by some Parisian Internationalists on the proclamation of the French Republic.

Marx may have ridiculed the Republic as a Republic, but his position can best be seen by a perusal of his addresses to the International and "The Civil War in France,"—which relates to the Commune. But the author knows so much of his subject, that apparently he has never heard of these splendid works.

Our scribe devotes considerable space to showing that German "Socialists" supported the action of the German Government in entering into war. The fact that they did so, is sufficient to show that they either do not understand the principles which they profess to be out for (in which case they are fools), or, if they do understand these principles, then they stand convicted as rogues; in either case they are no use to the working class.

We are told that "Mazzini summed Marx up well as a man . . . without strong philosophic or religious beliefs." An acquaintance with the epoch-making work of Marx will knock the stuffing out of that statement as far as it applies to philosophic belief.

All this is a pretty array of words, but what are the facts?

The Marxian examination of the economics of Capitalist Production holds the field to-day, and his Theory of Value becoming every day more widely recognised by the working class, and ever more surely the basis of working-class economic and political action.

Why does the price of labour-power vary in different countries, i.e., even in different localities of a single country? To prove that it does so it is only necessary to compare wages in London with those in the Provinces or any other part of the world. Why are women's wages less than those of men? or a child's less than those of a woman?

Obviously, the only answer that will bear the test of analysis is, that in the cases quoted the cost of production governs the price of the commodity. Demolished! Don't they wish it was: but apparently, with some people, the continual repetition of a statement is sufficient to prove its truth.

Many alleged critics and would-be experts have attempted to smash, tread, criticise, analyse, revise, etc., Marx, but the work of Marx and his collaborator, Frederick Engels, will live long in the memory of man, while the puny efforts of their traducers will speedily sink into the limbo of oblivion.

All sorts of terrible things have been said of Marx, but it has been left to a "Socialist" (Mr. Cecil Chesterton) to publish—apparently with approval—an accusation of "treachery" against him, by an obscure Italian penny-a-liner, reviewed by a well known Co-operator and Profit-Sharist, Herbert Vivian, in a journal published at the "democratic" price of id. weekly.

HURCH.

OUR WAR VOLUME.
The attention of readers is drawn to the probability that, on account of the number of Party manifestoes on the war it contains, there will be an exceptional demand for the volume of our Party Organ which closed with the last number. Those who desire to obtain the volume should place their orders early.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles of correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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The Socialist Standard,



WED., SEP. 1, 1915.

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THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND ITS WORK.

Had some bold prophet two years ago forecast a coalition Cabinet, including Asquith and Carson, George and Galloper Smith? had he asserted that these men, then so fiercely denouncing each other, would be united to carry on the government of the country, he would have been laughed at by the politicians, the "economists" and the reformers alike — by all, in fact, except the Socialist.

The Socialist is excepted because he knew that the "fierce fight," the "struggle" against the Law, the frenzied battle of tongues and pens, was all so much clap-trap; because he knew that the "great" Home Rule issue was but a political cry upon which to rally either side of the plotters. Ireland was again the red-herring that was to draw to the theatrical conflict the paid puppets of the political pantomime.

The Socialist has all along sneered at the heroic figures struck by "King" Carson and his troupe of paste-board pirates. We have always said that the Liberal and Tory, the Home Ruler and the Unionist, the Tariff Reformer and the Free Trader were all of the same gang: were all ready to unite immediately their economic interests were really threatened. Our understanding of the class struggle gave us that knowledge. Our recognition of the vital issues underlying the political sham fight gave us that assurance. When we said that Liberal and Tory would drop their child's play and unite as solid party when their common interests as capitalists were at stake we were called fools and dreamers. But we spoke truth and the Coalition Government is present to bear testimony to the fact.

Then the Liberals grew angry, on public platforms, at the antics of Carson's gun-runners; then Carson and his crowd could find no expression strong enough to denounce such "traitors" as Lloyd George, Churchill and Asquith. But now these "traitors" are placed in charge of the most important departments of the country attacked by a vigorous enemy, and the "law breakers" are in high places at the head of English law, with the approval and consent and at the instigation of the very men who previously denounced them.

It is, of course, to be expected that the men who draw up and pass such Acts would see to it that profits were secured. They are the men to whom the profits go. They are of the class who live by profit and they are safe-guarding their interests by passing the measures.

In "the house" they belittle the real cause of high prices and show how little economic knowledge they possess. They talk of drunkenness as the cause of scarcity of supplies, and gasp at the magnitude of the workers' weekly screw (one unconscious humourist described how

assistance of those otherwise most likely to denounce their previous delinquencies.

And that is practically all it amounts to. The great things we were to expect have not yet arrived. The few attempts that have been made have developed into what is, from the workers' point of view, not so much tragedy as farce.

Agitated at the increasing power of the organised workers in certain industries amid the abnormal conditions created by the withdrawal of the reserve army of unemployed; recognising that the ordinary methods of strike breaking by starvation and lead are difficult of application when labour is necessary for the continuation of war, the Coalition Government introduced a "Munitions Bill" which makes striking a criminal offence. This bill, with its vague promises of restricted profits, was expected, with the assistance of the working man's patriotism, to keep the toilers at work. How ineptive it is evidenced by the miners' dispute, in which dispute it is only the foolish idea of saving the bosses country that prevents the men from obtaining their demands.

In the past the miners have been defeated by the lock-out: that weapon cannot now be used against them.

Compulsory arbitration, however, is of no more use to the masters now than it would have been to the miners then. In normal times it leaves the advantage with the masters who have the power to starve the workers into submission to their terms. In times of war, when it is in the interests of the capitalists of this country that production shall continue without interruption, the workers hold the whip hand.

The Registration Act, too, is typical of a coalition government composed of both voluntarists and advocates of conscription. It promises the results of a Conscription Bill without the name. It attempts by underhand methods to force the unwilling into the trenches. The workers are to give the name and address of their employers to some local board, who will choose from among them those who are to be dragged into a "recruiting committee" into the army by pressure brought to bear upon the individual and the employer.

A suggestion of one prominent writer is that in every parish or group of parishes a Recruiting Committee should be chosen He should be compelled to present himself before them If it should be found that there is no valid reason why the man should not go the chairman should address him in this fashion: "We have no legal power to send you to the front. We are, however, strongly of the opinion that you are not doing your duty, and we therefore give you ten days in which to settle your affairs and enlist. If at the end of that time we have not proof that you have done so we shall be compelled to print your name in the blacklist of those who have failed their country during this crisis. This list will hang outside the church and outside the public buildings of this parish." A similar speech would be made to the employer who held back his men, and his business would certainly not be improved by the appearance of his name in such a list.

This is the statement of one who opens his article with the words: "I have always been an opponent of compulsion in military service, and these are the methods by which our glorious voluntary system" of recruiting is to be maintained. The "pink form" is a preliminary to something like the above.

The absolute incapacity of the present Government was never shown more clearly than in the discussion on the mis-called "Limitation of Prices Bill." It was admitted on all hands that the bill was ineffective to control the price of coal to the consumer. And the limit was reached when the Government accepted an amendment to wipe out the penalty if the accused could show "that he had reasonable grounds to believe that he was not committing an offence."

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working men used pound notes as pipe-lights. The increased price of materials is the cause, not the result of increased wages.

The increased money wage, amounting as it does to something less than 3s. per week more for a similar output, is in reality a reduction in real wages as the cost of living since the outbreak of war has risen by something like 35 per cent.

It is true that a slight advance in prices is rendered necessary by the increased risk in transport, but beyond that the vast upward movement in prices is due to the greed of the capitalists who are taking advantage of the unique position they find themselves in to hold supplies and take advantage of every local shortage to sell old stock at huge profits. Even where supply is restricted nothing other than enhanced profits explains the huge rise in price. Bread is dear but corn is plentiful!

We are now told that the wheat crop for this year is estimated to exceed that of last year by 51,000,000 quarters. This, too, does not include the Canadian crop, which is estimated to be 25 per cent. greater than that of last year." But will the price of bread fall to its normal? Not while the financiers have the opportunity of holding up supplies and of reaping huge profits thereby. The Coalition Government, like the late Liberal Government, will mark time while their friends make profits on the sale of murder machines and inferior food and clothing.

Meantime they will use the vastly distended horror, the German bogie man, to frighten the workers into working hard and working cheaply in their masters' factories, and to fight fiercely, and also cheaply, in the defence of the masters' country.

'PAPER, SIR.'

— 00 —

It is difficult to imagine what could be more despicable than the attitude of the capitalist Press during the past year. The persistent and ever more complete suppression of truth, the distortion of facts, the hypocrisy, the false and maudlin sentiment, the stupid advice to the workers, the idiotic praise of everything British and the belittling of the same when done by the alien, all make it increasingly obvious that the "glorious institution," the capitalist Press is one gross insult to the intelligence of the people. It is surely the height of fatuity for the home Press to pretend that it is, above all, the German people that is being duped by a servile journalism, as is suggested by the "Daily Chronicle" in the following extract:

The German nation, deprived, as it is, of any news from abroad, is entirely under the influence of Government publications and of the information which the Press is allowed to publish. No people can possibly escape psychological pressure of this kind, brought to bear upon them day after day without cessation or variety. A long period of time must elapse before the light of truth can break through the veil of prejudice and misconception which has been so carefully spread by the rulers of the country.

No intelligent being can rise from the perusal of such a statement without reflecting bitterly that our own case must be worse, since the home Press take it for granted that their own readers are such asses as not even to know they have the blinkers on, or such idiots as not even to feel that they are being further blinded by having copious supplies of All-British dust thrown into their weary eyes. W.

Our masters could not afford more than five shillings a week as pension for their old and worn-out workers. But they can spend over three million pounds a day to defend their national privileges of exploitation against their fellow capitalists abroad.

Apologists of the present order professed to be horrified when Socialists admitted that they were prepared, if necessary, to face bloodshed for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of wage slavery. Yet the master class is now shedding the blood of the workers in floods and for what?

"Are you doing your bit?" Join the Socialist Party and do it!

THE "WEEKLY PEOPLE" FIGHTS.
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS ON THEIR DEFENCE.

placed upon European Socialist POLITICAL ACTION, and it shows that the Address recognised the fact that that action was not revolutionary Socialist political action.

Socialist POLITICAL action which is not revolutionary! In other words the political action of "Socialists" who have lost sight of Socialism and become enmeshed in bourgeois politics!

Well, we call such "Socialists" pseudo-Socialists. And those who, themselves claiming to be Socialists, recognise any Socialist element in such political action (as the S.L.P. of A., on the showing of the "Weekly People") we also call pseudo-Socialists.

Our contemporary, in endeavouring to support the charge of misrepresentation against us, says:

There was NO attempt to keep the workers from turning their eyes to class conscious political action. A single quotation from the S.L.P. Address will utterly disprove of this claim. The Address said:

Besides, we believe that after the war is over the political conditions will be so adjusted as to compel the European comrades to give their UNDIVIDED attention to the question of industrial unionism.

Finally the "Weekly People" claims that the S.L.P. of A. insists upon the necessity of class-conscious industrial action. This, as we have before, is false, for that child of the American S.L.P.—the I.W.W.—is not an organisation of class-conscious workers, nor has its political parent ever endeavoured to make it such.

On the subject of misinterpretation our opponent says:

2. As to misinterpretation. The Socialist Standard in its March issue stated:

We are told that: "The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism, however revolutionary it may be in its utterances, cannot be of real service to the proletariat, let alone accomplishing [sic] its emancipation." In a mass of vague statements and ambiguities this assertion and its implications are made clear. If it means anything at all it means that a SOCIALIST political party has been called upon to stand the test of the present crisis and has failed.

The reader is invited to note the terms of the statement from which we drew the inference. The events in Europe were a DEMONSTRATION of something concerning a PURE AND SIMPLE POLITICAL PARTY OF SOCIALISM. Now it is quite clear that the only way in which any fact concerning a pure and simple political party of Socialism can be demonstrated is through the example of a pure and simple political party of Socialism, i.e., a Socialist political party. No juggling with any other sort of political party can demonstrate anything concerning a Socialist political party. Our interpretation of the statement, therefore, is the only possible correct one. That the Address says in another place:

Greetings! — In this hour of supreme grief . . . the Socialist Labor Party of America feels it its duty to communicate with the brother-parties of the various countries for the purpose of aiding in the clarification of the situation such as it presents itself to-day, and to endeavour to arrive at a solution of the problems confronting us.

The purpose of the Address is plainly stated to be aid in the clarification of the situation and to endeavour to find a solution. But the only contribution which the Address brings to the "clarification" of the situation is the argument that the International broke down because it was a "pure and simple political party of Socialism" ("The events in Europe are likewise a demonstration of the principle that a pure and simple political party of Socialism . . . cannot be of real service to the proletariat." The Address). We maintain that that is a deliberate attempt to prevent the workers seeing that the real cause of the failure of working-class political organisation in the present crisis was that it was not Socialist organisation. There is no misrepresentation about this. The S.L.P.'s Address implies that it was Socialist organisation otherwise how could its breakdown (chief of the "events in Europe") DEMONSTRATE that "a pure and simple political party of Socialism . . . cannot be of real service to the proletariat"? We, on the other hand, claim that the International or "European movement" was non-Socialist. By a strange freak of fortune we are upheld in this judgment by no less an authority than the S.L.P. Address, when it puts itself to the expense of an absurd contradiction of its above-quoted statement in order to tell us that the "European

comrades . . . have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement.

does not help our opponents at all. It does not justify the sense of their claim that "it shows that the Address recognised the fact that that action ('European Socialist political action') was not revolutionary Socialist political action." It does not merely show that that action was not revolutionary Socialist. We challenge the "Weekly People" to state that the action of those who "have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement" is not the same thing as to "assume control of production under Socialism".

But if the "maintenance of industrial order in the new-born Socialist Commonwealth" is not the same thing as to "assume control of production under Socialism" what is the difference?

The S.L.P. organ claims to have "come to grips, but where has it done so? The bald reiteration of the disputed points of its position is not coming to grips. The "Weekly People" has studiously left our arguments alone, under the plea that to demolish our main point is to demolish our minor points. Thus we attacked and showed the absurdity of the assertion in the Address that industrial unionism is the embryo of future society. In view of the fact that this same Address states

We hold with Marx that capitalist society must reach a certain point in evolution before Socialism is possible. But we also hold, and in keeping with the true essence of Marxism, that this evolution does not stop at the means of production, etc., but that it continues with equal force on the labour unions; that these must take such shape that they will form the structure of future society.

It is seen that this theory is the very keystone of the Industrial Unionist position. Yet our opponents prefer to regard it as a "minor point" rather than undertake the hopeless task of defending it. Similarly with the claim that

September, 1915.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.HEAD OFFICE:
183, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.**BRANCH DIRECTORY.**

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-est., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-est., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-est., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 1 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 295 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy. Geo. Richman, 3 Cooper's Row, Northfleet.

ILFORD.—"Secretary," 110 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

SLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144 Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets 1st and 3rd Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Sec. c/o F. R. Edwards, 319 West End-est., W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 104 Malvern-rd., W. Kilburn.

MANCHESTER.—B. Cheshire, Sec., 10 Tempest-est., Ardwick, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Weds. at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec., at above address.

N. KENSINGTON.—T. Hewson, Sec., 110 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

NOTTINGHAM.—Communications to Secy., 144 Meadow-le., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sun. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Chesserian, 180, Portmell-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portmell Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at Elkington's, Peckham Rye.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-est., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets alt. Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6, Hermitage-nd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-nd., where Branch meets every Monday at 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 223, High-nd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—11, G. Lloyd, Sec., 48 Badis-nd., Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Wirkman's Hall 84, High-nd.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 107 Kensington-ave., Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-nd. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST LONDON.—All communications to Secretary at Boleys Dining Rooms, 460, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Kevele, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd., New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-nd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crows, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
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"Weekly People" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kan.).
"International Socialist" (Sydney).
"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"Socialist" (Melbourne).

"Washington Socialist" (Washington).
"New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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BY KARL

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AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of ownership based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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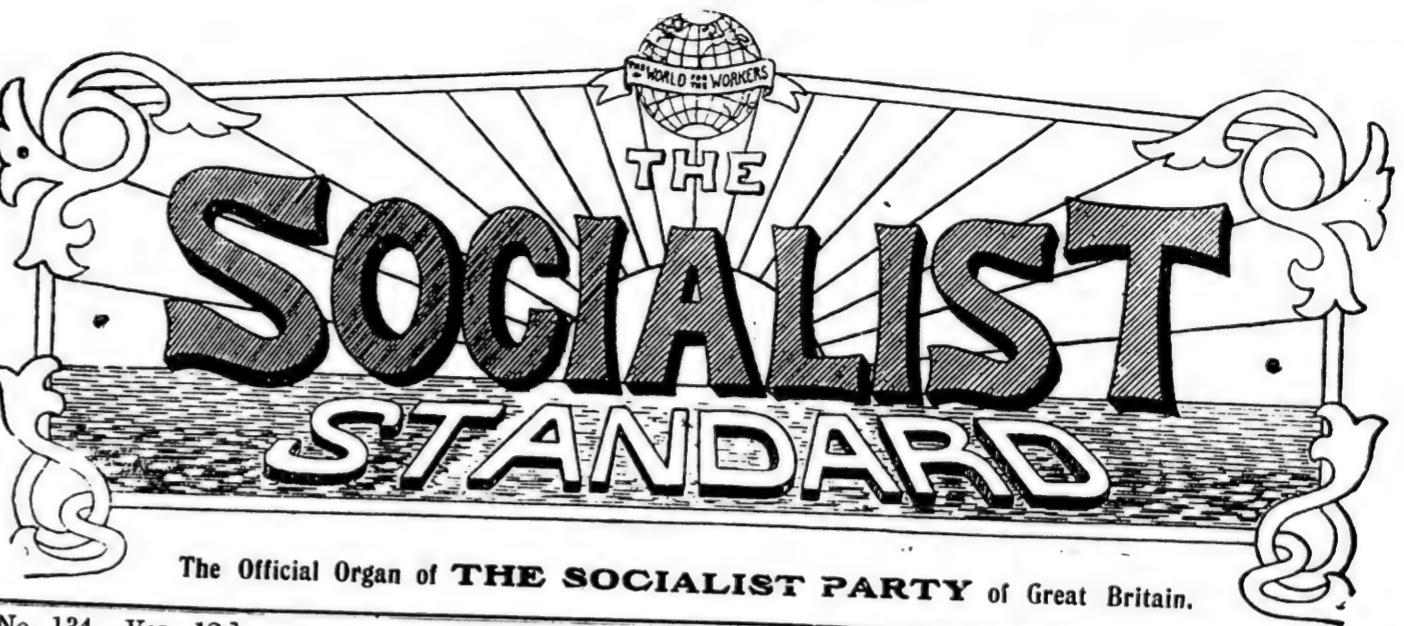
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LONDON, OCTOBER, 1915.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

FOOLS LEARN BY EXPERIENCE. AND SO DO OTHER PEOPLE.

It was the custom, but a short while ago, to attribute to savage life a setting of perennial violence and promiscuous murder. It was the custom, in days yet no further from us than their rose-scented endure, and their laurels keep their freshness, to acclaim our exulted civilisation, and to gasp at the completeness of our conquest of ourselves, and our triumph over external conditions—with the aid of God, and of person, and of men like Mr. Lloyd George, and Lord Kitchener, and Mr. Berry, the celebrated hangman, of course. It was the custom to search the world for the Molochs of other worshipships and the Jauggernaut cars of other civilisations, and to use them as pin-flags to mark the course we have followed and the giddy heights we have achieved above them.

Who does not remember for what bloody butcheries and devastating conquests excuse has been found in the tyranny of native rulers and insecurity of native life? The "poor black" could never be sure, when he put his head out of his kraal in search of his morning paper, that some earlybird with a highly developed sense of humour and a capacious knife was not going to tumble that head into the milk-can. And it was suspected that, hidden away in the fastnesses of primitive forests, woolly-headed, dusky Campbells and Booths and other bogey-men were mixing up the trade of restaurateur with that of juggler, and administering the Communion with such grim realism as rendered superfluous the pronouncement "This is His flesh." Such offences against the nostrils of "our common humanity" invariably called aloud for expeditions composed mainly, after its human components, of those well-known civilising agents, bullets, bibles, and booze (three out of the famous "Four B's" of Christian pioneering—the missionary was the fourth).

Many an expedition, armed to the teeth for butchery, has left our shores on the pretext that the barbarities of little-known people shock the world and are a danger to civilisation; many an expedition, reddened to the ears with butchery, has justified its orgy of rape and murder by grim tales of mountains of skulls discovered in some dusky Lost. potentate's backyard. Civilised ruling classes have been touched to the tenderest cores of their tender hearts by savage brutality, and have expended much blood and treasure to correct the idiosyncrasies of the Mahdis, and clear up the messes of the King Coffees.

And now what a spectacle the Christian rulers of Christian lands present to the astonished eyes of savagedom!

All former hates and blood-lusts pale into insignificance compared with the consuming passions that run riot through the breasts of

"civilised" men; all former wars become mere local disturbances, by comparison with this ghastly struggle which is turning countries into cemeteries and civilisation into an instrument of bloodshed; all former barbarities, whether of African despot or Asiatic ravager or European money-hunter, are eclipsed by the callous brutalities of the means by which all the combatants alike seek to put out the lifespark of men in this last great crime which reveals the true visage of capitalism.

What irony survives the shock of events! If was the complaint of multitudes, when we Socialists delivered the Socialist message in the pre-war days, that any attempt to establish society upon a basis of common ownership must lead to bloodshed. The fear of such a contingency has closed to our message the ears of many whose logical faculties could permit no other escape from the general truth of our conclusions, but who had not yet appreciated the veracity of Mr. Churchill's dictum: "There are worse things than bloodshed."

But to those who feared so much the gaunt figure that lurked behind the Socialist banner what has capitalism presented—and what has it yet to present? In the first year of war about 85,000 British lost their lives in operations by land and sea, and a month later a military member of the House of Commons told us that "we have hardly yet wet our shoes."

If Blood A Paris journal, "L'Œuvre," in be the an estimate widely quoted by Price" the Press of this country, states that up to the end of last February, that is when the war had been in continuance only half the time that it has now France had lost in killed alone 301,000 men, Russia 85,000, Germany 975,000, Austria 1,400,000, while the total losses in killed of all the belligerents exclusive of Turkey were 3,689,000.

If we had not wet our shoes in September we had not even soiled them in February. Since then there has been colossal fighting on the eastern front and terrible work and suffering in Gallipoli; since then there has been a costly attack and advance in France, while in addition Italy has entered the arena and made some progress in running up a tragic bill. What, then, must be the appalling death-roll now, with this second seven-month's fighting added to the first?

Nor is it only in this direction that the war is robbing Socialism of its terrors. Many people in the past have stumbled over the idea that it is only the free play of capitalist competition that makes the world go round, and that without this stimulus to endeavour the means of production, wonderful as they are, would not suffice to support the race, and chaos and ruin would at once overtake us. But what do we find; where does the war demonstrate the truth to lie?

It is revealed in practice that military strength

which to-day more than ever resolves itself into the largest, and therefore the most economical output of wealth—is in inverse ratio to the free play of capitalist competition. It is seen that, so far from true is it that the ordinary private enterprise of interested capitalists, spurred on by Private Enterprise, as it is by an unparalleled opportunity for gain, means efficiency, that it means, on the contrary, misdirection, waste, and chaos which must prove fatal to those foolish enough to rely upon it.

It is here that the scientific German has scored heavily over the short-sighted fools who have fondly imagined that private enterprise under the stimulus of competition would suffice for nearly all things in peace and in war. For years the German rulers have had arrangements made for a wide abandonment of the competitive processes of production in event of war. At the annual military manoeuvres a large number of German factories have been put under State control and run for a fortnight under war conditions. Whatever miscalculations the Germans made as to the requirements of modern warfare, they may, at all events, take credit for recognising from the first, and long before the outbreak of hostilities, the truth of the Socialist contention that the boasted private enterprise, under the stimulus of the competition generated by the lust for profit, is a drag upon production and a fertile source of chaos and inefficiency.

Germany acted upon this knowledge, and as a result our masters are forced to confess that, other things being equal, the only effective reply is to themselves abandon private enterprise for the time. In other words, they are forced to admit that capitalist production by private enterprise is a failure, and that only production organised on a basis from which the attributes of private enterprise are eliminated can enable them effectively to deal with a situation of their own making. To this extent, therefore, the evidence of the war is a triumph for Socialist theory which we shall know how to make good use of when the war has run its course.

But another aspect of the same question provides a useful lesson and further vindication of Socialist claims. When the war broke out the financiers and capitalist economists showed that it could not last longer than a year. The upheaval of finance, the disturbance of trade, the disruption of production—these potent factors were to cool the ardour of the most warlike in matter of nine to twelve months, and bring peace because the resources of mankind could not support war on the colossal scale for a longer time. By all the calculations of capitalist economists, based upon the soundest of capitalist theories, the Teutonic allies, with so much of their own manhood removed from the production

of the necessities of life, with their imports and exports almost completely cut off, should have reached bankruptcy and starvation and military paralysis long before this. Yet the prognostications of the wise men, who have imagined that the only possible basis for the activities of civilised man is money, and therefore solvency, and who have stoutly denied the Socialist assertion that an enormous proportion of the human energy under capitalism is run to waste, these prognostications are pulverised by the peculiarly healthy vigour of the Austro-German entity.

Of course, the seers did not realise that a country organised for war could eliminate private enterprise and profit-hunting to any extent that its government thought necessary and its capitalist element was prepared to submit to, and thus organised on a temporary basis foreign and even antagonistic to capitalism, could go on with the war in defiance of financial dictums and capitalist economic theories, to the first of which the capitalists of that country are answerable only when the normal conditions of capitalism return, and the last of which they blast for ever.

But so it has been. The rulers of the German nation have found it possible to engage over ten millions of their seventy millions population in the direct prosecution of the war, in the actual fighting forces and in the production and transport of munitions and other requisites of war. We may put the ordinary working strength of Germany the number, that is, following any occupation (the house-wife's duties excepted) at from eighteen to twenty millions. We find, therefore, the remarkable spectacle in a capitalist country "organised for war," of more than one-half the working population (and the most physically efficient half of that) engaged in providing the forces and means for carrying on the conflict.

A. E. J.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF.

At such a time of appalling misery and waste of human life as the present, it may be useful to review again the claims of the Socialists, and to set out once more the means by which they propose to reach their goal. The writer has nothing new to tell—nothing at all that he has not said many times over in these columns. Nor can he hope to say it in a different way from which he has said it all before. But the message must be repeated again and yet again, though the messenger grows sick at heart. Conditions are always changing, if the message is not, and therein lies hope sufficient for the day.

Socialists claim that human happiness rests primarily upon the security and sufficiency of the necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. They do not say that there are no other sources of happiness, or that security and plenitude in these things must necessarily banish all unhappiness. What they contend is that these material things are the basis of human happiness viewed generally, just as they are the basis of human life itself.

Socialists maintain that the wealth produced at the present day is sufficient to afford ample of the necessities of life to every man, woman, and child in the community, while the means at the command of society are sufficient to enable that wealth to be produced by the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of the time and effort by which the working class gain their meagre livelihood to-day.

This is proved the Socialist contention that capitalist production on normal capitalist lines, notwithstanding that such vast wealth results, is an insanely wasteful process. The very fact that the capitalists themselves are compelled at a time of stress to reject it in fields essential to the prosecution of the war speaks volumes. In this, when the war is finished, Socialist propagandists will find a powerful object-lesson to put before their fellow-workers.

It is more than possible that the war will provide even more important lessons for the working class than any here outlined so far. We all know how much the governments of the "quadrigle entente" are building upon a revolt among the working class of the "enemy" countries. The contingency is not by any means remote, since it might suit the book of the Teuton militarists, should they be unable to stave off defeat in the field, as well as it would suit the purposes of our own masters and their allies. We should then probably see the erstwhile capitalist foes united in a bloody suppression having for its object the striking with terror anew the working class of the world.

But for the moment the lessons of the war are these: Firstly, that the evolution of capitalism, so far from freeing us from the bloody violence alleged to attach to savage existence, tends to make wars more colossal as the improvement in the means of production sets free a larger pro-

portion of the workers for war, and more cruel as the conquests of science place new means of butchery at the disposal of our respective masters. Secondly, the war demonstrates how small a proportion of the energy of any community, with modern instrument of labour, suffices to supply the necessities of life for the whole. Thirdly, the war reveals that private enterprise and production for profit, so long and so sternly condemned by all Socialists, is not good enough even for the capitalists when the exigencies of a vital war make it imperative for them to make the most of their resources.

These lessons of the war will go far in the hands of those who have taken up the Socialist position, when the butchers shall have decided their quarrel by the old test—seeing who can pour out working-class blood the longest. They will add to the grudging return which the capitalists of this country are already preparing for their disabled warriors, open eyes even to German bullets have rendered sightless for ever. Then with the utter wantonness of this colossal destruction of life revealed in the worsened conditions of those who are everywhere bearing the brunt of the fighting and the bulk of the suffering—the working class—and with the many false friends of labour exposed and discredited for all time by their attitude during this crisis, the cause of the working class will flourish with vigour that will relieve and compensate for this dark and savage outrage upon our class.

A. E. J.

its inhabitants a family of five persons would enjoy an income of about £200 per annum." It is seen, then, that sufficient wealth is produced to afford ample means of subsistence to all.

It must, of course, be granted that much of the wealth produced to-day takes a form which would be useless in a society where the products of labour were equally enjoyed by all, but as all this wealth is simply nature-given material to which human labour has been applied, either to change its form (as in the case of cannon) or to change its position (as in the case of coal), or to change both form and position, as in the case of most things, it would be the simplest of matters to divert all labour into channels, and turn all useful materials into forms, which would contribute to the end in view.

Is it true that the means which we possess for producing wealth to-day are sufficiently developed to enable us to maintain the present output of wealth with the expenditure of far less time and energy per head of the able-bodied population than the working-class bread-winner of to-day has to give, on the average, to the gaining of his livelihood? To commence with, think what happens to every commodity which is produced before it becomes available to fulfil the function for which human toil has fitted it—that is, before it can be consumed. It has to be sold, and perhaps sold several times. It is, in fact, produced in order to be sold, not in order to be used, though unless it was capable of being used it could not (except under false pretences) find a purchaser. This means that an enormous number of clerks, travellers, salesmen, shopkeepers, and others too numerous to mention must be maintained in labour which adds not one iota to the wealth which is produced. According to the Census returns of 1901 there were 501,294 commercial travellers and commercial and business clerks engaged in this useless labour in the United Kingdom—apart from thousands of other clerks and touts, such as those employed by lawyers, political and other organisations, for example. How many shop-assistants are wasting their time waiting for customers who do not come? How many baker's and butcher's carts chase each other over the same ground? How many canvassers, agents, and house-to-house distributors swarm the streets? And all this because goods must be sold when they are completed, instead of being immediately available for consumption.

And as goods are produced under the present system only to be sold, so they are only produced while they can be sold. Hence there is at all times an immense army of workers unable to find employment because there is not sufficient sale for the sort of goods they are producers and distributors of. In the year when the stupendous amount of wealth mentioned by Mr. Money was produced the "percentage of members of Trade Unions making returns who were out of employment was 6.8" ("Statistical Memoranda" Cd 4671, Local Govt. Board). It is generally admitted that the unorganised trades would show an even larger unemployment percentage, but this figure applied over the whole field would give about a million workers in the country in enforced idleness.

Then even before the war there were in the Army, Navy, Police force and Prison staffs, the very pick and flower of the race—another half-a-million men adding nothing to the wealth of community, while 50,000 persons "labour" but to keep us in the land of nod.

Everywhere around us we find energy wasted, from the railway ticket-collector and the bus company's spy to the jeweller setting diamonds in the collar of her ladyship's Pekeen pup and the flunkey buttoning up his dilettante master's breeches. And on top of all this there is that great group of the master class, to the number of about 5,000,000, who produce nothing, and who would, if they contributed workers in the same ratio as the working class, add another 2,000,000 to those available for production.

These figures, even if they may be disputed on the matter of strict accuracy, are sufficient to show that society has means to hand to produce vastly more wealth than is at present produced with the same average expenditure of time and toil which the members of the working class who are in employment render for their bare, miserable subsistence, or the same amount with far smaller average expenditure of time and

effort. But we must find a method by which all these idlers, compulsory or voluntary, shall be brought into production, and all these workers whose efforts are directed into wrong channels shall become fruitful in their labours.

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JOTTINGS.

It must not be thought that because the "Daily Herald" failed, mainly because it did not know or understand the working-class position, that George Lansbury has given up. Oh, no! Within the pages of its successor, "The Herald," he still advances a strange and mysterious dogma. Listen to this:

"Last week I said I wished Arthur Henderson would come out of the Government and against the socialists, set the standard of national service by all for the good of all. Whether or not Henderson comes into the wilderness and puts himself at the head of the working class in their march toward the promised land that march will go forward, for out of this present time of trouble and difficulty it is the only road which will lead the nations of the world to safety."

The pure insolence of young Arthur putting himself at the head of the working-class army is rather in the nature of "coming it." You must really wait, Arthur, my boy, until we've selected you. We must kick a bit about the reference, too, to "the promised land." We seem to have heard the phrase before. But let Georgie make it clear. In the course of the same discourse he says:

"We need at this moment a spiritual awakening, bidding us all cease our strife for money, for fame, or for power."

There, there, now! That's good, for is it not "light in our darkness," and does it not prove that "Capital" will probably be forestalled by the Holy Bible?

"PROFIT" SHARING.

On Sept. 10th, 1915, the following letter appeared in the columns of the "Daily Express," written presumably by a City business man. We must compliment this good gentleman on his very correct deduction at the outset, but crave his indulgence as having to severely "strafe" him regarding his remedy.

A CHALLENGE.

To the Editor of the "Daily Express":

Sir, More than a year of the greatest trial and danger that Britain has ever known has not only failed to still the strife between capital and labour, but would even appear, on the contrary, to have widened the breach between them, and if this eternal question is not promptly, carefully, and cleverly handled it is bound to affect disastrously the improved social conditions to which we all look forward when the victory of the Allies shall have brought the great war to an end.

Because they own the means and instruments by which all wealth is produced and distributed, and owning these things, own also the wealth which is produced with their aid.

Why are there at all times many workers who are unable to get employment?

Because the goods in the production of which they seek employment are only produced for sale and when such goods cannot be sold the owners of the means of production will not employ workers to produce them.

Why will not the owner of these means of production employ workers to produce goods which cannot be sold?

Because, firstly, in order to maintain himself in the position of property-owner (that is, to keep solvent) he must pay his way, which he can only do by turning the wealth his employees produce into money, or in other words, by selling it; secondly, in order to live without himself producing wealth the employer must secure that produced by others (his employees). But as he cannot satisfy his needs with the actual goods his employees produce, any more than he can pay his debts with them, again he must sell them. And if he cannot sell them he could continue to stand the expense of their production.

It is seen how all these things have their roots in the basic condition—the private ownership by a class of the means and instruments of production and distribution. Clearly, then, private ownership in these things—in all things which are necessary for the sustenance and well-being of mankind, in fact—must go.

That, in brief, is the Socialist remedy. Private ownership in the instruments of labour and the raw material, in the land, mines, factories, machinery, railways, canals, ships, and the like, of all these things, must cease. They must become the property of the whole community, and be controlled and operated by the whole community. Can anything be simpler than that?

Socialism, after all, is very simple. There is never any need to wrap it up in hard terms. It is just a social system based upon the common ownership of the means of living, as the present social system capitalism is based upon the private ownership of those things.

In a future issue it will be shown what will follow from the changed property condition.

A. E. JACOMI.

finds its way into the master's pocket. Will the writer of the letter see how the scheme works at Port Sunlight. The South Metropolitan Gas Co., and many other such works and engage the confidence of the "heads" there. The remedy for an evil will certainly never be gained by increasing the evil. Understand this, my boy, there are ten thousand ways of missing the bull's-eye but only one way to hit it.

The following is from the Bristol Congress and is worthy of a place in anybody's cutting-book:

To a resolution expressing approval of the Labour Party's action in assisting recruiting, the National Union of Clerks tabled an amendment regretting that they had not first secured from the Government guarantees of adequate provision for disabled soldiers. This "buck-stopping" spirit was hotly denounced by several speakers. "Daily Mail," 10/9/15.

The report that the assembled Congress received a telegram from the disabled trade unionists offering profuse thanks for services rendered is grossly exaggerated. Some people have all the luck while gratitude pays all our debts. Needless to add the amendment was lost.

The attached cutting was something in the nature of a smack in the eye for the dear Congress delegates. It reads:

A SOCIALIST MANIFESTO.

The Socialist National Defence Committee, the members of which include Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Robert Blatchford, Mr. John Hodge, M.P., the acting Chairman of the Labour Party, and Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., has issued a manifesto to the members of the congress. In it they say:

"In this hour of supreme national peril, when the independence of the people is brutally and obstinately violated, a handful of PSEUDO-SOCIALISTS in this country are breaking the national solidarity and weakening the national efforts in face of the enemy; it has become a duty for TRUE BRITISH SOCIALISTS to expose and repudiate the errors of these docers."

Having explained so lucidly what is the duty of "true British Socialists," the "true British Socialists" proceed to perform that duty. They accomplish the painful task of exposure and repudiation with surprising cheerfulness proceeding upon the true British lines of the true British bulldog. They say:

"Some of them are extreme pacifists, some are aliens by birth blood or sentiment, and ALL OF THEM ARE CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY THE AGENTS OF GERMAN KAISERDOM, and, fearing to the IMPERISHABLE IDEALS OF LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY which have united free Britain, independent Belgium, and Republican France in an indissoluble and glorious alliance."

One seems to see in that hooligan jibe "alien" the moving finger of Blatchford, the "true British Socialist" who once publicly announced (in the "Clarion") his antipathy toward Spaniards. Could any other hand so carefully have drawn that fine distinction between "German" Kaiserdom and all other kinds of Kaiserdom? or so cunningly have obscured the fact that even he could not find a term that would serve to bring autocratic Russia into that "indissoluble and glorious alliance" which had been created by the "imperishable ideals of liberty and democracy"? Yet it was easy enough. What was wrong with "Holy" Russia? That should have appealed to the author of "God and My Neighbour," and in the matter of veracity it would have matched the rest. And "lost we forget," congratulations are due to two such eminent literateurs as Wells and Blatchford on the production of that gem, "aliens by birth blood or sentiment." And then again the reference to "pseudo Socialists" and "true British Socialists" is indeed delightful. Fancy referring to Bert Tillet as an agent of German Kaiserdom, after all he has done, too. This is too bad, and the Tower Biller has our deepest sympathy. Never mind, the truth about some men is never known until after they are dead, and even then you cannot find it on their tombstones. All the signatories to the manifesto are expected to figure in the next Birthday honours lists.

B. B. B.

To be content with overwork, harsh treatment, and a starvation wage is to be well, a working man. Be a man!

internationalism. Throughout the neutral nations there is a fresh enthusiasm for the Army; and in Germany itself the Salvation Army is expressing a renewed loyalty to the international idea.

The only comment that it is necessary to make on such a statement is supplied all unconsciously by the interviewer, who says:

"The son of William Booth finds just now his international religion buffeted by the winds of war. He of all religious leaders in this country is most concerned by the international character of the war. German Salvationists are shooting English Salvationists, and Russian Salvationists are shooting Austrian Salvationists."

And what is the Salvation Army doing in this war to interpret the spirit of Jesus? Its message in this crisis will surely show how pure and ambiguous True it is that man's emancipation from wage slavery, from irrational poverty and ignorance will alone finally lay the ghost of superstition. Yet the present fading of religion is an unmixed good. The power of religion has even been potent for evil. It has been throughout political history the abettor of oppression, the enemy of freedom, of science, and of humanity. It is still used as far as practicable by the hand-maiden of class domination.

As Socialists, indeed, our main attack must be against the entrenched political power of capitalism, and to this all else must be subordinated; but the war on religion, which is the *via inertiae* of human development, is part of the work that must be done in that great struggle.

The war on religion will break down the barrier that our enemies maintain against us. It will take the workers a step nearer their goal. It will open up fresh vistas to working-class intelligence and put men face to face with the bitter reality of modern social life and its trend; and this can have but one result.

In so far, therefore, as the toilers escape from the paralysing embrace of religion their advance will be freer, their vision clearer, their knowledge more profound, and their determination to make the proletarian cause triumph more unshakable. A word by the way, therefore, that helps dispel the fog of superstition, that unveils the absurdity of the claims of the priests, and that lets light in upon the indubitable fact that the workers of the world can rely on no Messiah, on no metaphysical cloud-pusher, but only on their own strong right arm, such a word by the way is not only a helpful thing, but it has an inevitable place in the greater struggle for human emancipation, in the greater battle for Socialism.

F. C. W.

While the above silences all those who accept the hellish conditions of capitalism as consistent with the goodness of God, it is quite futile against those who do not.

What evidence is there of the goodness of God? What evidence is there of God at all? Where, indeed, is God anything but an expression of man's ignorance in face of the awful and ruthless immensity of nature?

God, says General Booth in effect, is omnipotent, and is at the same time not omnipotent! He is the essence of all goodness, but has created war and sweating and infinite misery.

He is omniscient, and knowing all things, including man, man's sin and tendency to sin, war, anguish, destitution, wretchedness and sorrow incalculable. Yet He is not responsible. Man, his puppet, is responsible. To God is attributed all good; to man, whom God created, is attributed all evil. Such is really the meaning of General Booth's assertions. Their nonsense is evident. It is also suggested in the interview that God's plaything, man, is being punished because he has neglected the All Wise, All Powerful, and All Good God. Truly the absurdity of this cantankerous All-Goodness recalls the little girl's natural history essay. "The elephant," said the young lady, "is a noble animal, but when infuriated he will not do so."

To all the Salvation Army chief's points, however, the old tent-maker has made answer from the standpoint of a true believer:

"Thou who man of base earth dost make.
And who with Eden didst devise the snake:
For all the sin wherein the face of man
Is blackened, man's forgiveness give and take!"

The spectacle of the warring nations of Europe supplicating the same good and almighty God for armed victory over each other is ludicrous enough. Small wonder that it is subject for derision. Moreover, practically every religious sect has hastened to put its private brand of

Allmighty Power at the service of the capitalist interests which are responsible for the modern machine-made murder. Chaplains and priests of many denominations are helping to stiffen the men at the front. And at home the various churches continue as best they may to swell the patriotic chorus in aid of their paymasters the ruling class.

Nevertheless the power of religion to keep the workers servile is fast waning. Technical progress, the advance of knowledge, the march of events, drive it continually farther from real life.

True it is that religion cannot entirely disappear until man's relations with his fellows and with nature become clear, ordered, rational and unambiguous. True it is that man's emancipation from wage slavery, from irrational poverty and ignorance will alone finally lay the ghost of superstition. Yet the present fading of religion is an unmixed good. The power of religion has even been potent for evil. It has been throughout political history the abettor of oppression, the enemy of freedom, of science, and of humanity. It is still used as far as practicable by the hand-maiden of class domination.

This year's gathering was important and historic, in fact, the latter quality was so impressed upon us by the capitalist Press that one was almost inclined to think, from the point of view of posterity, that it ran a neck-and-neck race with the Judgment Day. Lining on one side that this was the largest congress yet held, no doubt the importance was augmented by the fact that no congress was held last year, owing to the war, and that this year's gathering was held in time of war. "The time has come," the walrus said, "to talk of many things," but the war and the problems arising therefrom, for the most part, occupied the attention of the assembled delegates.

This Bristol "chinwag" can, however, be differentiated from its predecessors on two distinct grounds. Firstly, there was no mayor of corpulent rotundity to welcome the delegates. This duty devolved upon Weddecombe, chairman of the Bristol Trades Council, and in the course of his introductory remarks he said (I quote from "Justice," 9.9.15):

The Trades Council felt that there would be no interest on the part of the Congress in being welcomed by a representative of the class they were incessantly fighting for their right and their trade unionism.

Thus another cherished tradition is consigned to the melting-pot, and one is inclined seriously to doubt the truth of Mathew Arnold's dictum that the age of miracles is past. Secondly, there was no Congress sermon delivered with special reference to labour by one of those who toil not neither do they spin. This, perhaps, can be accounted for when one remembers the sermon delivered at the Manchester meeting of 1913, in which it was said: "The German, the French, the British workmen have no quarrel with one another." (Official Report, p. 46.) This is so true that it almost seems out of place at a Trade Union Congress, and therefore the possibility of its repetition from an ecclesiastic was dispensed with this year.

The president's (Mr. J. A. Seddon) address is felicitously described by the "Clarion" (10.9.15) as "an admirably restrained and statesmanlike performance"—a phrase one has heard in other connections from more avowedly capitalistic sources. He demanded that the Government should lift the veil of secrecy and stated that democracy was on its trial. Yea, "democracy" is on its trial; and it has been found guilty of wilful negligence of its own interests. But despite his "admirable performance," which was chiefly notable owing to his unacknowledged quotation from J. R. Lowell, the attention of the "world" was focussed upon two resolutions, the one dealing with conscription, and the other with Capital and Labour.

At Christmas time Capital gathered his happy family round him an' th' prisioner iv th' ladies iv th' neighbourhood give them a short oration. "Me brave lads," said he, "we've had a good year (cheers). I have made a million dollars (sensation). I attribute this to me superver skill, aided by ye' arnest efforts at th' bench an' th' forge (sobs). Ye have done so well that we don't need so many iv ye as we did (long and continuous cheering). Those iv us who can do two men's wurrk will remain, an' if possible do four. Our faithful servants," he says, "can come back in the spring," he says, "if alive," he says. An' the bold artysans tossed their paper caps in th' air an' give three cheers for Capital. They wrurked till iv age crept on them, an' thin retired to live on th' w'ish bones an' kind warruds they had accumulated.

Tillet had his say characteristically: "This was not a fight of the capitalists. . . . Instead of yapping like terriers, we should join hands in this great conflict." He then proceeded to yap. There are some men in this world who are loud in shouting their willingness to give their last drop of blood for their country, but who are always careful not to risk shedding the first drop. Tillet has been to the trenches—on a conducted tour.

Roberts, M.P., regretted the backwardness of Russia, but, he added, she had found her own soul. No such resolution as the following was on this year's agenda: it is found in the Official Report for the 1912 Congress, p. 201.

That this Trade Union Congress in Newport expresses sympathy with the severe struggle of their comrades in Russia, and protests against the brutal means by which the Russian Government tries to crush the increasing solidarity of the workers, as shown in their organisations, and expresses the hope that at the forthcoming elections for the Fourth Duma the forces of reaction may be defeated, and a strong Labour representation returned to work for the overthrow of capitalism and autocracy.

The Russian attorney, whose name was formerly synonymous with rape and rapine and ruthless repression, has now joined the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Small Nations,

THE TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS.

This year's Trades Union Congress has come and has passed to "that bourn from which no traveller returns." At Bristol the galaxy of the Trade Union world sat in conference. They sat and hatched nothing.

Nevertheless the power of religion to keep the workers servile is fast waning. Technical progress, the advance of knowledge, the march of events, drive it continually farther from real life.

True it is that religion cannot entirely disappear until man's relations with his fellows and with

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which prevention, it might be added, does not, like charity, begin at home. So criticism of Russia is tantamount to treason.

The Trade unionists, as befits their political complexion, still regard the world and its affairs through the capitalist spectacles with which their masters have so kindly provided them.

The "Daily News and Leader" should rejoice at the passing of this war resolution for in its issue of September 6th (before the discussion) it said:

"It may be well that Labour should affirm its support of the Government in the conduct of the war. But everyone not wilfully blind to the fact knows that unless Labour supported the war, the war would be over in a fortnight."

A large number of critics have regarded the carrying of this resolution as evidence of a whole-hearted antagonism toward conscription on the part of the "three million organised workers." It appears, however, that in consonance with the Liberal Press, their opposition is against "Lord Northcliffe's conscription," and that, were it asked for by Lord Kitchener, they would swallow the pill without the bulge of a check. In other words, their antagonism is not to conscription *per se*, but to those who are engineering the present movement.

This view is, to a certain extent, borne out by the passing with but seven dissentients of the war resolution, which reads:

That this Congress, while expressing its opposition, in accordance with its previously expressed opinion, to all systems of militarism as a danger to human progress, considers the present action of Great Britain and her allies as completely justified, and expresses its horror at the atrocities which have been committed by the German and Austrian military authorities, and the callous, brutal and unnecessary sacrifice of the lives of non-combatants, including women and children; and hereby pledges itself to support the Government as far as possible in the successful prosecution of the war. ("The Times," 9.9.15.)

Its pledge to assist the Government as far as possible in the successful prosecution of the war does not bode well for the "anti-conscription" resolution in the event of the Government deciding to raise men by conscript means.

Sexton (Dockers) moved the resolution, and in the course of his speech stated that this was not a capitalist war and added: "I am convinced that the Trade Unions of this country will have to put up the biggest fight when the war is over that they have ever put up in their history." ("Star," 8.9.15.) This is, no doubt, in anticipation of the way in which the capitalists will express their gratitude to the workers, and here Mr. Dooley on Capital and Labour would not be out of place.

At Christmas time Capital gathered his happy family round him an' th' prisioner iv th' ladies iv th' neighbourhood give them a short oration. "Me brave lads," said he, "we've had a good year (cheers). I have made a million dollars (sensation). I attribute this to me superver skill, aided by ye' arnest efforts at th' bench an' th' forge (sobs). Ye have done so well that we don't need so many iv ye as we did (long and continuous cheering). Those iv us who can do two men's wurrk will remain, an' if possible do four. Our faithful servants," he says, "can come back in the spring," he says, "if alive," he says. An' the bold artysans tossed their paper caps in th' air an' give three cheers for Capital. They wrurked till iv age crept on them, an' thin retired to live on th' w'ish bones an' kind warruds they had accumulated.

According to the "Daily News and Leader" Mr. J. Robertson (Lancashire Miners) stated: Official figures showed that during the fifteen years that have passed since the South African War, 20,000 men have been killed in the mines of the country, while no fewer than 2,500,000 have been seriously injured.

Verily, Peace hath her horrors much more profound than war.

The foregoing is not intended even as a brief résumé of the Trades Union Congress, but merely as a few comments. One fact stands out clearly (even if it were not discernible from other evidence): that the workers are apparently almost unanimous for the war, "the war to end war," as it has been felicitously termed. As the "Clarion" (10.9.15) put it in a very tuneful note, "The workers, as a body, are all right."

And this cannot be wondered at when one considers the multitudinous agencies all working more or less in the direction of keeping the workers "right" and from their rights. Unmissably, the bulk of the workers think in capitalist channels and the discussion of the Trades Union Congress was nothing more nor less than the opinions of a heterogeneous collection of economists and politicians who know not whether they are going and never get there.

Presently, in "the future" that yet shall be, they will shake off their lethargy and the hypnotic influence of capitalism and then they *will* see the war against war; a death-struggle between two classes ranged respectively under the banner of Socialism, symbolical of freedom, and the black flag of Capitalism, standing for death and destruction. In that war no quarter is asked, no mercy is given and no cry for peace is entertained or can be entertained until the smoke of battle has cleared away and the din has subsided; until society has emerged from slavery for the first time in its history since primitive communism, wielding its power for its own well-being.

For while the tired waves vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through crevices and inlets making,
Come silent, flooding in, the main.

L. R. C.

THE REWARD OF CHARITY.

The trite old adage, "Charity covers a multitude of sins," can be exemplified to-day in many ways. One can hardly look at a daily paper, for instance, without finding most pathetic appeals for contributions to the maintenance of hospitals, orphanages, homes, and the like.

Such institutions are a feature of modern society in the "piping times of peace," when the hat-het is buried and the sword lies rusty in its scabbard and each worker has his hand at the throat of his fellow in the competition for jobs. Such institutions, indeed, are part of the masters' insurance against the workers realising the extent to which they are robbed.

However, we are living in time of war. Yes, and that but makes the position worse; for the so-called charitable institutions of peace times find their struggle for existence more intensified through having to meet the rivalry of innumerable other funds having some connection with the war, and all having, broadly speaking, the same object in view, yet all in deadly rivalry with each other.

Why this rivalry? At the inception of the "National" War Relief Fund it was stated that the one fund would cover every case of distress caused by the war. Would it be uncharitable to mention the many salaries and pickings for officials which the funds provide?

These "charitable" concerns, whether pre- or post-war organisations, have for their object the mopping up of the mess engendered by the capitalist system, notwithstanding that the ostensible reason for their existence is to relieve the "dole people." The organisers and others connected with them know full well that while they can keep the workers contented, and therefore docile, this, coupled with an abysmal ignorance of their class position, must mean the most efficacious safeguard of the exploiters' position.

It looks very nice to see healthy specimens of the predatory class running about organising shows of all kinds for returning a little of the wealth they have stolen to those from whom they have stolen it—the workers. But we Socialists suggest the possibility of obviating the need for these degrading institutions. "Charity" being a necessary feature of capitalism, it will disappear only when the working class end the capitalist system. Let the workers, then, banish the hateful charity-mongers by overthrowing their social system and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth.

TO A PATRIOT

WHO TOLD THE WRITER "SOCIALISTS WON'T FIGHT BECAUSE THEY ARE 'OWARD'."

Not that we fear to die, for why should we, Who face a living death from day to day, Fear what we know "eternal rest" to be? A speedy end rather than slow decay? No, what we fear is that we should be brought To suffer wounds, disease, and lingering pain, Iniding those, of brute-like cunning wrought, Who maim the body, crush and starve the brain, Maybe the time is nearer than we know, When we, the disinherited, the spurned, Shall face our masters in the last great fight; Shall wade through waste and desolating woe Toward the splendour of a death well earned If only life be won in death's despite.

F. J. W.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

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“International Socialist” (Sydney).

“Western Clarion” (Vancouver).

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY**OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of governmental, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THAT as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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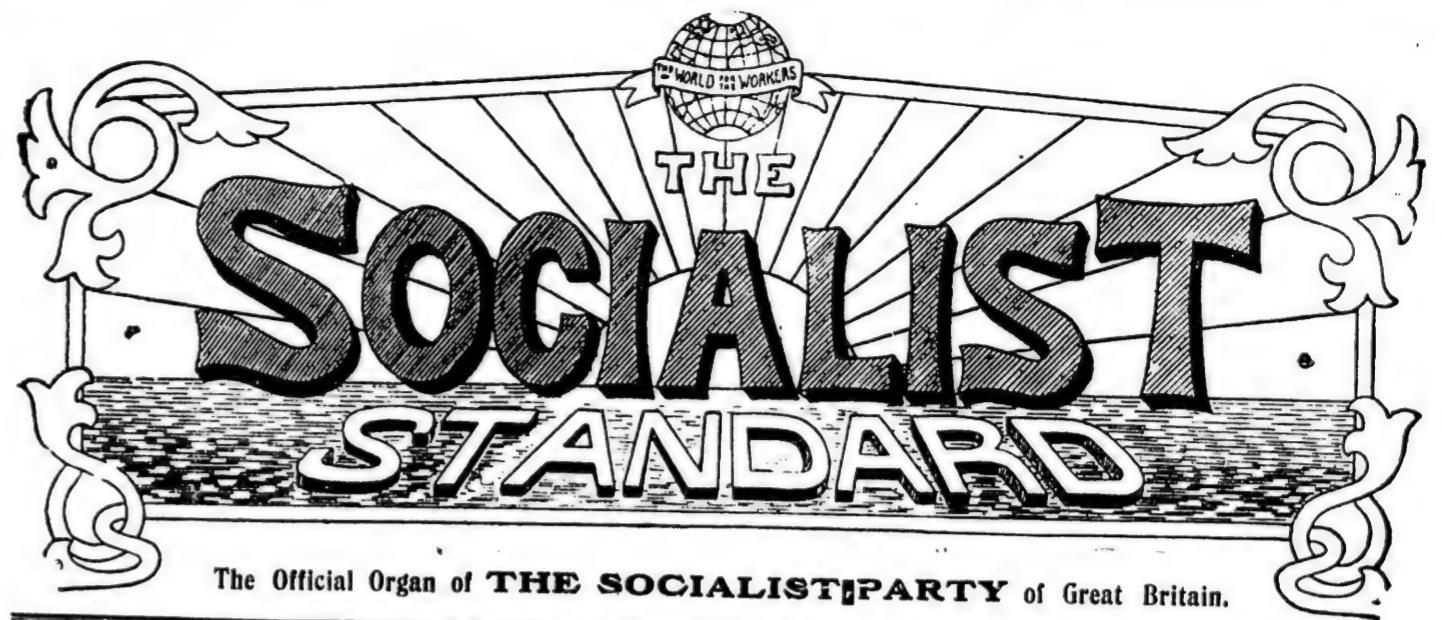
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE FRIOTS OF ANARCHY. CURIOUS EFFECTS OF DIVERGENT INTERESTS.

When a period of trade activity has been unusually protracted, the inevitable crisis invariably startles the economists of the ruling class in the midst of ruminations on their good fortune, or

Anarchy in Interests produces genius, in having at last overcome trade epidemics. As with the trade crisis, so with war, it comes as bolt from the blue, shattering theories, exposing contradictions, dissipating hopes, and falsifying prophecies.

Conflicting interests must always produce conflicting ideas. A survey of prevailing ideas will consequently give some notion of the underlying anarchy of capitalist interests and conditions.

One group of idealists we can afford to leave to their own shallow cogitations. Those who argue that without war to develop and ennoble - and kill off the fittest - the human race is certain to degenerate. They are backed up by the "war traders" for obvious reasons. Opposed to them are the humanitarians, the anti-militarists, and the peace-loving bourgeois traders, whose ships, heavily insured, are on every sea. These traders, always fearing for their markets, express vehemently their belief in arbitration and their suspicions of diplomats generally. In the interest of trade Andrew Carnegie subscribes two millions to finance a peace tribunal. At the same time armament firms subsidise the Press and frighten the ignorant with scares, bribe high-placed officials through their agents in all parts of the world, cater for every nation or province that happens to be inflicted with agitators, whose business it is to keep alive feuds and magnify every action of a neighbouring State into a sinister threat against the cherished freedom of the people. The following quotation from the "Daily News and Leader" (15.7.14) presents quite typically the attitude taken up in peace times by the peace-mongers:

If there is not soon a world-wide movement against the tyranny of war and of all the infinite associations with it, it will not be for lack of lessons. Wherever we turn, to France or Russia, Germany or Japan, Italy or our own country, the evidence accumulates of the burden which the war-traders put upon the backs of the people. Their business has no relation to patriotism. It is cosmopolitan in its operations and soulless in its motive. It works upon the fears and hates of ignorant people, uses the Press as the instrument of its purposes and makes tools of the diplomats and the statesmen, many of whom are financially interested in its success. In Russia, in

France, and now in Japan we have seen how it can buy up the very services and make lackeys of the generals and admirals of army and navy. Its malevolent influence overshadows the democracy of every land and until we have found a way of uprooting the whole evil system there will be no real progress made towards peace or an enduring civilisation.

"Our own country is not excepted in this sweeping statement. The Prime Minister, when

confronted with figures relating to the operations of armament firms abroad, said he dared say the figures were correct, but he knew of no sufficient reason for instituting an enquiry. Shortly after two of the largest British firms entered into a contract with the Turkish Government to carry out extensive works at Constantinople that meant the virtual re-modelling of the Turkish navy, while just before the outbreak of the war, according to a prominent war correspondent, "the British Admiralty was lending missions of naval officers to Greece and Turkey, to hasten in co-operation with the contracting syndicates the preparation of their war forces." The same writer added: "There is not a feud, or the possibility of a feud, but these tradesmen are at hand to egg on the rival adventurers, and to 'equip' them with the latest instruments of the science and art of wholesale homicide."

The peace-mongers forget their former denunciations when their country is involved in war. The "business" of the war traders has a close "relation to patriotism" when the "latest instruments of the science and art of wholesale homicide" must be placed in the hands of the workers to defend capitalist interests. The cry is then "Pile up the munitions; more elbow room to the war traders." They forget what they have said - but they cannot unsay it.

Before the war it had become almost a platitude that great wars of conquest, religious wars, etc., were things of the past; that to-day commerce and industry dictated the policies of the different nations. Since the war every capitalist hack has been busy denying the economic cause - even while crying: "Capture the enemy's" trade - repeating again and again that the struggle is between "militarism and democracy."

"Prussian militarism" has become an everyday phrase. Exactly what is meant by it has never yet been clearly explained. According to some supporters of the so-called voluntary system, it is synonymous with conscription; others affect to see a difference between the French and German forms. One fact beyond dispute is that the capitalist class of every country maintain armed forces up to the strength they deem necessary to cope with their enemies within and without; and it is even more certain than that the capitalists of no country hesitate to use them when their interests are at stake. The methods may be slightly different, but the object is always the same - to retain possession or ownership of the means of life.

For instance, the Kaiser, according to Benjamin Kidd in the "Daily News and Leader," 7.9.15, appeals directly to his conscripts, saying:

In view of the present Socialist agitation, it may come to pass that I shall command you to shoot

down your own relatives, your brothers, your sons, or parents, which God forbid, but even this you must obey without a murmur.

While Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons

Relatives says, in answer to a question (I quote the "Daily Chronicle.") are 21.2.11:

Best Apart. I think it is a very good rule where the military force is called in to render assistance to the civil power, in exceptional cases, both as regards officers and men, so far as you can do it, to avoid the employment of those who are locally connected by personal, domestic, or social ties.

In peace time every increase in armaments raises the war discussion anew and furnishes fresh evidence in the shape of contradictions, confessions, and absurdities. Ten days before the declaration of war the United Methodist Conference passed a resolution "protesting against the ominous growth of armaments." One rev. delegate declared that

the war spirit was not in the heart of King George, the Kaiser, the House of Commons, the Reichstag, or in the hearts of the British or German people. It was in the brain of a few irresponsible journalists, who were obsessed with a dastardly kind of imperialism. He hated strikes, but would be glad to see a strike of the great democratic forces of Europe as a protest against this wicked, inhuman, and sinful waste of money.

Note how these despicable followers of the mythical Christ are concerned for their masters' money - a fraction of which comes to them in the shape of livings. One would almost imagine it was of greater importance in their estimation than human life did one not remember that personal ambition overshadows everything else in the mind of the up-to-date Gospel hawker.

Notoriety being their goal, it does not always follow that popular ideas must be applauded; sometimes the reverse will bring a freak. Non-conformist within the circle of the fine-light. At present it is almost criminal to denounce war, even in theory; yet the president of the Churchmen's Union at Rugby goes even further and denounces scientists for their share in it - possibly on principle, because he recognises the antagonism between science and religion. He

deplored the employment of the latest discoveries of science and the newest inventions of civilisation not in the service of mankind, but to kill, burn, and torture. Men of science and learning had been bribed by the rulers of nations to prostitute their powers to the invention of horrible instruments for the wholesale killing, poisoning, and torture of brave men.

Obviously this is a case of the pot reflecting on the sooty condition of the kettle. The priest is equally susceptible to capitalist bribery with the scientist, and just as ready to furnish old superstitions or manufacture new ones, to the detriment of the working class, as the scientist is to

Invent or improve instruments for the perpetration of wholesale murder.

So much for the irresponsibles. There are writers and politicians, however, that are considered authoritative; but we shall be disappointed if we expect to find their utterances free from similar contradictions and absurdities. Mr. Norman Angell in "The Great Illusion," we are told by a contemporary,

Lays down the principle, which he enforces by references to recent history, that in the case of a great war the victor suffers more in the long run than the vanquished. . . . Moreover, because also of this interdependence of our credit-built finance, the confiscation by an invader of private property . . . would so react upon the finance of the invader's country as to make the damage to the invader resulting from the confiscation exceed in value the property confiscated. So that Germany's success in conquest would be a demonstration of the complete economic futility of conquest. . . . For allied reasons, in our day, the exaction of tribute from a conquered people has become an economic impossibility.

In November 1910 Mr. Asquith, speaking on the subject of international relations, furnished the occasion for a Press discussion in which prominent leader writers expressed similar views to those of Mr. Angell. The "Aberdeen Evening Gazette" (11.11.10) said:

If Germany beat us, she could not destroy our trade; she could not seize any of our colonies or annex any of our territories. She could not exact a "thousand million" indemnity, because credit is now an international business, and to impair British credit would be to shake her own. If Germany smashed us she would smash her own best customer, and her own people would pay the penalty.

The "Times" (11.11.10) said:

They move, as he says, in a vicious circle. They arm because they distrust one another, and they distrust one another because they are armed. It is a chronic malady, the curse of which Mr. Asquith is optimist enough to hope for through the growth of a more genial spirit among the nations. A more potent agency will perhaps be the increasing complexity of international relations, which makes it difficult for one nation to damage another without almost equally damaging itself.

The "Westminster Gazette" (11.11.10) said:

Trade is a great pacifier, and the international credit on which trade rests is a thing to which war is abhorrent. The fear of breaking the peace and the difficulty of breaking it grows with the growth of armaments. And at the same time the subconscious conviction that the whole collective process is a kind of insanity must gradually project itself into the conscious proceedings of civilized nations.

These quotations are by no means isolated. In recent years similar opinions have been repeated so often that they should be familiar to every newspaper reader. But note the change since the outbreak of war. Every possible evil, from economic annihilation to wholesale slaughter, has been flung at the heads of the workers to frighten them into the recruiting office or the munition factory. When the international capitalist class saw no immediate cause for quarrelling, their scribes told us our trade could not be destroyed by Germany, nor could our colonies or territory be annexed. A war indemnity could not be exacted by Germany because it would shake her own credit. Yet Britain's credit is to be shaken by this very action, according to every responsible newspaper, while the self-appointed "Adviser-in-Chief to the British Nation"—Mr. Horatio Bottomley—says that "we shall need an army of occupation to mind the German capital whilst the war indemnity is being paid."

Many writers have uttered grave warnings on the horrors of war, and have suggested remedies that were almost laughable—if the subject were not so tragic. Mr. Egmont Hako, in the "Daily Telegraph" of September 6, 1892, thus writes:

Let us try and build up the main lines of our social system from the basis indicated, i.e., the private ownership of the means of living.

The first result of the means of producing and distributing wealth becoming the property of a few is to divide the community into two classes. These classes are the property-owning class and the propertyless class.

We shall have battles raging for days over extensive grounds, hurried and disorderly retreats, desperate pursuits, and consequently, miles of country strewn with carcasses and corpses. Should we wonder if to this tragedy Nemesis were to add her epilogue pest?

and the remedy is, "a liberal support of our hospitals"!

Professor Gardiner says:

It should not be impossible to build upon the basis of the international comity of savants a society of men pledged to use their powers and discoveries for not destruction, but for saving life, not for promoting, but for moderating friction between nations.

Benjamin Kidd told us in "Social Evolution" that the Christian religion was responsible for

an ever-growing altruism and humanitarianism in the "Western civilisations." He is, perhaps, surprised at the calmness with which these peoples regard the slaughter going on to-day, though he admits his theory is falsified and that altruism is useless as a force to avert war, when he suggests that the Allies should "declare the United States of Europe"—and, one might add, in preparation for war with the United States of America, or some other combination of powers in competition with them for the world's markets.

But about the most outrageous thing that has been said on the war question is the reply given to those workers who asked what is their stake in the country. "Their wages." Those wages that for "millions of the workers do not suffice to replace the energy used up in their daily toil." The wages system is the most complete and tyrannical form of slavery evolved during centuries of class domination. Wage slavery squeezes every ounce of energy out of the workers and strips them, condemns men, women, and children to degrading poverty and continual anxiety and, as "John Bull" says, "the sordid atmosphere of the office and the workshop."

This is the worker's stake in every land—if he seeks diligently and has the luck to find a master. But if he has knowledge concerning the position he will detect the wages system, and if he has wisdom in addition to knowledge he will work for its abolition and the establishment of Socialism. The nationality of his master in the meantime will not count with him: all members of the master class are to him parasites that live by his labour and drive him into the factory with the whip of unemployment and hunger, to be exploited. F. F.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF.

The previous article under the above heading showed how several very undesirable features of our social existence arose from the private ownership by a portion of the community of the means of production and distribution—the land, factories, machinery, railways, raw material, and the like.

It was concluded that private ownership would therefore have to be abolished, and it was finally promised that in a subsequent article it would be shown what would follow that abolition and the substitution of common ownership in the means of living.

A necessary preliminary to the proper understanding of the consequences of abolishing the private ownership of property is a thorough realisation of what that form of ownership is and what it produces.

Now as the very basis of life is the means of subsistence, the production of the means of subsistence is the most important matter in human affairs. The ownership and control of the instruments and resources by and from which these means of subsistence are produced therefore become of tremendous importance. As a matter of fact the property condition is not a mere skin-deep feature of our social life, which can be changed with no more than local disturbance in that life. It is the very rock and foundation of the social edifice, and therefore a change in this property condition must involve a change in every aspect of our social existence.

Let us try and build up the main lines of our social system from the basis indicated, i.e., the private ownership of the means of living.

The first result of the means of producing and distributing wealth becoming the property of a few is to divide the community into two classes.

These classes are the property-owning class and the propertyless class.

These two classes occupy entirely different positions in society—positions which must necessarily create antagonism and strife. A 581

Those who do not possess the instruments of labour have no means in their hands of gaining a livelihood, except by selling their strength and skill to those who own the means through which alone that strength and skill can be productively applied. The positions, then, of the two classes are those of buyers and sellers of labour-power respectively.

It now becomes clear how the antagonism between the classes arises. Fundamentally there is antagonism between buyers and sellers in every market. Everywhere the seller strives to

sell as dearly as he can, while the buyer tries to buy as cheaply as possible.

If this is true in the ordinary commodity market, how much more inevitably true must it be in the market where human labour-power is the commodity bought and sold!

For, be it remembered, human labour-power, applied to nature-given material, is the source of all that wealth by which men and women live (except, of course, such forms as are freely supplied by nature, such as air and sunlight). The wealth of the rich, the wages of the poor, are alike the product of the application of labour-power to material. Consequently, the struggle between the buyers and sellers of labour-power becomes a struggle for the possession of the product of that labour-power.

Let us be perfectly clear upon that point. To use the illustration of Marx, the product of the wage-worker is like a stick which is to be divided into two parts. The whole of the stick is comprised in the two parts, and one part can only be larger at the expense of the other. The product of the worker is divided into two parts—one part going to the worker and constituting his sole means of livelihood, the other part going to the employer and constituting his means of living. The part which the worker receives is his wages, the price which the employer pays for the labour; and as the larger this portion of the "stick" is the smaller must be the portion left for the employer, the struggle between the buyers and the sellers of labour-power must be resumed next month. A. E. JACOB.

November. 1915.

THE SOCIALIST

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So is shown the difference in the systems of wealth production in a society based on the monopoly of the means of production by a few and a social system in which the means of production are owned by those who use them. In the one case all wealth produced presents itself as articles produced for sale, in the other case wealth, with a few exceptions, is produced for use.

The exigencies of space prevent the completion in this issue of this brief examination of the manner in which the whole of our social structure arises from and rests upon the social base—the ownership by a section of the community of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth. The subject will be resumed next month.

A. E. JACOB.

THE QUEER SIDE.

Socialists have been frequently met with the taunt that they are going to "break up the home" (for firewood?), "destroy the sacredness of the family hearth," "invade the innermost secrerries of the family life," etc. etc. How this desperate invasion was going to occur our opponents (in their usual clear-headed way) were not quite sure; but somehow or other the State (metaphysical middle heads must have Gods, you know) was going to walk in through the door (without knocking!) and tear children from their parents and wives from their husbands to make them economically independent of each other, thus destroying the calm security (?) and harmony (?) of the family circle. (Sometimes we are told that pa comes home blind drunk and beats his wife—but I forget, that is when another thesis has to be proved.)

This view receives the pious support of wealthy men doubtless from the knowledge that the economic independence of working women will mean the end of their present paradise, in which they enjoy (like their prototypes, the beasts) the almost unlimited satisfaction of their sexual appetites. An examination of the true facts of the case, however, shows the hollow hypocrisy of the plea.

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Arrangements are being made at Lyons to celebrate next year the centenary of the birth of the inventor of the sewing machine, Barthélémy Thimonnier, who died in 1857 in abject poverty. Reuter.

The above fate has been the reward of the majority of the brilliant thinkers who, applying their brains to the various spheres of production, have assisted largely in the rapid evolution of modern industry, in which those wonderful machines and processes operate to enslave the ignorant masses.

For the present the wealthy shareholders of the Singer Sewing Machine Company and their international fellow capitalists reap the fruits of the invention's teeming brain. But when the worker awakes and hails the dawn of freedom with open clear eyes, those same mighty brains and marvellous machines will be converted into a means to lighten labour and increase the sum total of human happiness.

In the days that are to come, fellow workers, remember the annals of your class. Remember the bloody massacres of your fellows upon the industrial and political battlefields. Remember the sweating and the destruction of child life, and the violation of womanhood. Remember! — and proceed unwaveringly upon your course. Do not be deterred from prosecuting the war of the iron man!—and proceed unwaveringly upon your course. In the days that are to come, fellow workers, remember the annals of your class. Remember the bloody massacres of your fellows upon the industrial and political battlefields. Remember the sweating and the destruction of child life, and the violation of womanhood. Remember! — and proceed unwaveringly upon your course. Do not be deterred from prosecuting the war of the iron man!—and proceed unwaveringly upon your course.

Another asset of the present war to the capitalist class has been the opportunity offered to experiment in the introduction of women into departments of work which they were hitherto supposed to be physically incapable of performing. The following extract from the "Daily Mail" (16.9.15) will illustrate the point:

The great movement among women toward filling up gaps in labour is shown in all classes of work; but nowhere more strikingly than in the big munitions iron works. That woman's work in this new sphere is satisfactory is acknowledged by works managers and foremen. Asked if a motor cylinder would offer greater difficulty than a shell to bore one of these men said, "Hardly any." "A woman, then,

could go in for ordinary industrial steel working, lathe work, screw-cutting, and the like, just as well as a man?" "Certainly, for the general run of work."

A quotation from the same paper of another date (10.9.15), dealing with the interim report of the committee appointed by the British Association is also enlightening:

In some cases the experience gained during the war had shown that certain jobs could be more efficiently done by women than by men.

The great increase of women's employment could hardly fail to have permanent results, and it might be anticipated that after the war the proportion of women in industry would be greater than before the war—the ownership by a section of the community of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth.

The subject will be resumed next month.

A. E. JACOB.

SOCIALISM V. PEACEMONGERING.

The so-called "Peace" propaganda of to-day is associated by most people with Socialism and the Socialist Party.

The plain fact, however, is that Socialism has very little in common with it, and judged by the essential features the two movements are as poles apart.

What is distinctive about Socialism that separates it from all other movements of social activity?

Briefly, Socialism differs from other phases of social thought in that it stands for the overthrow of modern society based upon class ownership of the necessities of life and the building up in its stead of a society of wealth producers owning the means of life in common. What, on the other hand, does the "Peace movement" specially signify? It stands for an alteration in diplomatic methods between various capitalist Courts, and at the present time it is in favour of stating the terms upon which the combatants are willing to declare "peace."

Socialism fights for the removal of a system of society which works out to the detriment of the many. The "Peace Crusaders" are out for an alteration in the method of government whereby the wars between capitalist countries can be reduced or abolished.

Socialism declares in favour of a new system wherein capital and capitalist governments cease to be. "Peace" propagandists by no means unite in condemning capitalist society, and they are mostly opposed to a change in the system altogether.

What is the Socialist attitude to war? It is that war as we know it is produced in the main by the conflict between the interests of capitalists of various nations. It is born of the rivalry between sellers of goods for profit, and it can only die when selling for profit is abolished. In other words, Socialist theory holds and capitalist practice proves that only by ending the entire capitalist system can war with all its attendant horrors cease.

War, in the words of the "Peace" propagandists, is due to secret diplomacy, misunderstandings between Courts, and a vicious newspaper Press. These things, however, are but results of the workings of the system itself, and whilst the latter remains the effects, in the shape of secret diplomacy, etc., will continue.

This article is being written in mid Atlantic, away from all books of reference, and consequently exact quotations cannot be given. But the reader need only refer to the literature of the Union for Democratic Control and the Peace Societies for confirmation of the statements made.

Consider the personnel of the Peace advocates and see what sanction of Socialism there exists amongst them.

Mr. Possonby is one of the most noted of the Peace persuaders of the day and he is a Liberal M.P. Mr. Trevelyan is a late Minister of the Liberal Government and resigned upon the occasion of the declaration of war. Mr. John Burns resigned his Cabinet membership upon the same occasion. Lord Morley left high office at the same time. M. E. D. Morel has never been associated with Socialism and is simply a reformer who, when occasion calls, can be quite as much an Empire builder as the most notorious supporter of the war. Witness his appeal for British versus French sovereignty in the Congo. (See "The British Case in the French Congo" by E. D. Morel).

All sorts of appeals are made to the Socialist Party to join forces with these "anti-war" organisations, but it is deaf to all such cries. Not because we do not yearn for the cessation of the war. By no means so. Socialists above all others realise the horrors always following in the train of war. We know and feel the wreckage of human ties, the break-up of family life, the sorrow and suffering arising from the brutal slavery.

The war between the exploiting and exploited classes can only end with the extinction of one or the other. The "war that will end war" is the war waged by the down-trodden masses against their task-masters; and victory will signify the abolition for ever of privilege, private property, and its accompanying oppressions.

The place for all working men who would play a man's part in the struggle of their class is under the red banner of Socialism, sounding the tocsin of the Revolution. There they will ally themselves with comrades worthy of their aid.

(Continued on p. 23)

influence of tradition, or deny the usefulness of studying the past experience of society and turning it to good effect; for in the same work we have it stated: "The tradition of all past generations weighs like an Alp upon the brain of the living." In considering the ideas, institutions, and history of a given period, therefore, not only have the natural and artificial conditions of the society in question to be examined, but also those of the previous societies which may have influenced it, together with the traditions, customs, and institutions which have persisted from times earlier.

ETHICS AND RELIGION.

Many institutions and ideas originated out of man's contact with external nature in very early times, and although modified by subsequent economic development, they persist throughout history. Among this class, may be mentioned the fundamental ethical principles, and also religion.

Morality, as Darwin has shown, originally consists of certain social instincts necessary for the preservation of society. He traces them back to our pre-human progenitors, and indeed they must assert themselves to some degree in all organised communities whether animal or human. Man being by nature a gregarious animal, the instinct of sociability is part of his physical make-up. Darwin says in his "Descent of Man" (page 149), "any animal endowed with well-marked social instincts, the parental and filial affections being here included, would inevitably acquire a moral sense or conscience, as soon as its intellectual powers had become as well or nearly as well developed as in Man."

The social instincts, however, become modified by the social transformations which occur as a result of economic development. In a hunting community, for instance, the killing of newly-born infants at a time of food scarcity is considered no crime. Infanticide is, indeed, one of the most universal customs among savage peoples, who find the struggle for existence very keen, it being in the interests of the tribe to keep down the number of consumers as much as possible; and, where children are to be saved, preference is given to males as forming potential hunters, thus increasing the productive capacity of the tribe. In an agricultural community, however, where food is more plentiful and more regularly obtained, infanticide is no longer practised, and it comes to be looked upon as horrid and immoral in the extreme.

In class societies the prevailing ethical code is always that best suited to the interests of the ruling class. Old ideas are cast aside or are modified to justify their position. This, of course, is necessary, for no ruling class ever maintains its supremacy for long by physical force alone. Chattel slavery was moral in America until it was discovered in the North that wage-labour was cheaper, and it is interesting to note that both North and South obtained the support of the Bible for their respective positions.

Religion arises out of the relations between savage man and the unknown and, to him, mysterious forces and phenomena around him. The partial or total lack of consciousness caused by sleep and by death, and also dreams, were explained by assuming the living body to be the temporary abode of a soul or spirit (the Egyptian Ka) which leaves the body for longer or shorter periods. The wind, fire, smoke, thunder, etc., were regarded as manifestations of these ghosts which became objects of fear and veneration.

The spirit of a dead chieftain in course of time is elevated to the dignity of a god with power over various natural forces. He is conceived of by the living of his tribe or people in the shape of a glorified personification of themselves. Thus Thor, the Scandinavian god of thunder, was a mighty warrior, the sparks and noise from the clash of whose battle-axe constituted the lightning and the thunder. The beliefs of the Norsemen, indeed, form an excellent illustration of the intimate connection between material condition and theology. The discovery of the smelting of iron-ore had raised them to the upper stage of barbarism—the "Heroic Age" of history. Now, the iron sword and scale armour supplanted the cruder and less effective weapons of the earlier period. The warrior class became predominant, and when one of the mighty ones passed away, his corpse,

together with his paraphernalia of battle, were burned in his Viking vessel, that his spirit, clad in ghostly armour and armed with ethereal weapons might ascend to the "Hall of Valhalla," there to live with his ancestors.

The rise and further development by modification of religion is excellently dealt with in the pamphlet on the subject issued by the Socialist Party, and need not be longer dwelt upon here. Nevertheless, an interesting illustration given by Marx, of the effect of changed conditions upon religious opinions, and also showing how the ideas of the ruling class are accepted in the main by the mass of the community, may not be out of place. Writing upon the Crimean War, Marx says:

We see England, professedly Protestant, allied with France, professedly Catholic (damnably heretical as they are in each other's eyes, according to the orthodox phrasology of both), for the purpose of defending Turkey, a Mohammedan power, whose destruction they ought most religiously to desire, against the aggressions of "holy" Russia, a power Christian like themselves. . . . To perfectly appreciate this state of things we must call to mind the period of the Crusades, when Western Europe, so late as the thirteenth century, undertook a "holy" war against the "infidel" Turks for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. Western Europe now not only acquires in the Moslem jurisdiction over the Sepulchre but goes so far as to laugh at the contests and rivalries of the Greek and Latin monks to obtain undivided possession of a shrine once so much coveted by all Christendom; and when Christian Russia steps forward to "protect" the Christian subjects of the Porte, Western Europe of to-day arrays itself in arms against the Czar to thwart a design which it would once have deemed highly laudable and righteous. To drive the Moslems out of Europe would once have roused the zeal of England and France; to prevent the Turks from being driven out of Europe is now the most cherished resolve of those nations. So broad a gulf stands between the Europe of the nineteenth and the Europe of the thirteenth century! So fallen away since the latter epoch is the political influence of religious dogma.

We have carefully watched for any expression of the purely ecclesiastical view of the European crisis, and have only found one pamphlet by a Cambridge D.D., and one North British Reviewer for England, and the Paris Univers for France, which have dogmatically represented the defence of a Mohammedan power by Christendom as absolutely sinful; and these pronouncements have remained without an echo in either country. "Eastern Question," pp. 182-3.

CLASSES AND THE STATE.

Religion and ethics are characterised as deriving their origin in man's natural environment. A further set of institutions arise only at a certain stage of economic development. Occupying a prominent place among this division of institutions are the State with its political and juridical sub-divisions, and social classes. The distinguishing feature between classes is the mode by which the members thereof obtain the wealth which is necessary for their subsistence; except in those cases where the class in question is a remnant of a decaying order of society, in which case it sometimes happens that it will retain its distinction, by reason of its political power, and the force of tradition, after all economic distinction has passed away. This state of things can, however, but be of temporary duration, as instanced by the Roman patricians who in time lost the political privileges which were their only distinction from the upper or wealthy land-owning plebeians.

Although there have been classes, such as handcraftsmen, who worked with their own tools and material, and owned the product of their labour and were, therefore, to a large degree economically independent, the most typical form of class division is that between producers and non-producers, exploiting and exploited. The division of society into producers and non-producers only arises when the productive forces have progressed to a certain point; for, when man's whole time was occupied in providing the necessities for his own continued existence, there could be no idle class. When it became possible to produce a surplus of wealth over and above that essential for the maintenance of the producer, the war captives previously slaughtered or eaten, were set to work for their captors whose sole property they became. Thus arose chattel slavery, the first form of exploitation. Three historical varieties of exploitation may be distinguished: chattel slavery, where the slave was bodily owned by somebody and was bought and sold, typical of ancient civilisation; serfdom, where the serf

produces part time for himself, and part time for his lord to whom he owes allegiance, and who gives in return protection, prevalent in the Middle Ages, and wherever feudalism exists; wage-slavery, where the worker is "free" to work for anyone who will employ him, but being propertyless is compelled on pain of starvation to sell his labouring power to one who owns tools and material for production, thereby losing all claim to the product of his labour, the value of which must be greater than that which is paid to him as wages, this form characterises the modern capitalist epoch.

It is out of the growth of classes that the State arises. Wherever ruling and oppressed exist, the ruling class must control a coercive force, the function of which is to keep in subjection the exploited class and maintain the existing order of property conditions. "The antique state was, therefore," says Engels, "the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labour." "Origin of the Family, etc., page 208). The political State marks the dawn of the era of civilisation.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The nature of and the relations between the classes of any epoch, are determined primarily by the mode of production operative, which gives rise to certain forms of property. When new productive methods arrive, new classes are born into society. The struggle for supremacy between the old methods and the new, reflects itself in the struggle between the classes whose material interests are bound up with the respective modes of production. The struggle between classes having divergent and clashing interests, has been behind all the political contests, upheavals, and revolutions which have characterised the history of society since the epoch of civilisation was entered upon. The control of the State, the stronghold of every ruling class, has been the objective in every struggle for emancipation.

The class war, more enduring and pitiless in its form than any other war, contains innumerable instances of the savage extremes to which a ruling class will go when its material interests are menaced. Brutal suppression, followed by wholesale crucifixions, was the price paid by the revolting slaves of Roman days; and this finds its counterpart in the crushing of the peasant risings in mediæval Europe, and in modern times by the massacres of proletarians, after the Paris Commune in France, on the Rambouillet, in Colorado, and in Dublin, Featherstone, and elsewhere in these British islands. "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriators and the producers brings out this fact more glaringly." (Marx's "Civil War in France," page 68.)

However necessary were classes at the period in social evolution at which they arose, it can no longer be claimed that such is the case now. In support of this first proposition, Engel says

"Anti-Duehring," page 209:

Slavery first made the division of labour between agriculture and industry completely possible and brought into existence the flower of the old world. Greece. Without slavery there would have been no Grecian State, no Grecian art and science, and no Roman Empire. There would have been no modern Europe without the foundation of Greece and Rome. We must not forget that our entire economic, political and intellectual development has its foundation in a state of society in which slavery was regarded universally as necessary. In this sense we may say that without the ancient slavery there would have been no modern Socialism.

But he also says in the same work (page 211):

As long as the actual working people claim that they have no time left at the close of their necessary labour to attend to the common business of society—the organisation of labour, the business of the government, the administration of justice, art, science, etc., just so long will distinct classes exist which are free from actual labour to carry on these functions. . . . The development of the great industry with its enormous increase in the forces of production for the first time permitted the subdivision of labour

They have sent their men (their wage-slaves) out to die.

Here is another gem: "Profits are the wages of our class and wages are the dividends of another class." There is one difference—wages are on an average the smallest sum that will suffice to keep together the body and soul of a worker and reproduce the necessary working-power, while dividends are anything up to millions of pounds. One is the price of a worker's labour-power, and often of his life; the other is the idler's revenue.

"Do not take a weapon that will damage interests of the greatest importance," he wailed, but not a word of regret as to the damaging of human flesh and blood.

The sycophantic Philip Snowden then rose and delivered a long address, taking great care not to tread on anybody's corns; in fact, he comported himself as a "thorough gentleman." In the course of his remarks this professional tout said: "I am very glad to be able to join in what is the universal testimony and tribute of the country to the sacrifice of life which both the middle and aristocratic classes have made, but in the matter of wealth they are not paying their fair share of the cost of the war." Fancy thanking our masters for the paltry few who have risked anything in their war in comparison with the myriads of wage slaves! This is the man deluded workers once called a "Socialist"!

With the rise to political predominance of the working class and the subsequent institution of Socialism, the period of classes and class struggle with its concomitant social forms, including the State, will be at an end, and a new era will be entered upon.

To this end let all our energies concentrate. With the lamp of science held up to the record of history, let us read its lesson aright. Guided by the class-struggle, with faith in the soundness of our position, let us spread this knowledge of Marxian teaching among the wage-slaves of the world. To them as to us, the work of Marx and Engels stands, a beacon light, shedding rays around it; shining down the path of man's social history it illuminates the gloomy passages of his past. Ahead, its beam piercing the haze, light upon a glorious future, which through the triumph of the workers will become the heritage of all mankind.

R. W. Housley.

OUR SHIFTY PAYMASTERS.

The debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons on October 13th was a typical expression of the shuffling methods of our masters. Those who call the tune were quarrelling over the payment of the piper.

The course of this debate exhibited, as usual, the truth of the Socialist's contention that economic interests are the prime factors in all historical movements, no matter how much idealistic puff is put into the movements. The attitude of the international money-bags has shown the mercenary motives at the bottom of the present war, in spite of the "sanctity of small nations" twaddle.

Here, in this debate on the distribution of the expenses of the war, we have the clashing interests of all sections of the capitalist class.

The business was opened by a certain Mr. Lough, whose main bone of contention appeared to be the Excess Profits Tax, and he proceeded to set forth the views of our masters on business generally, which views are very enlightening! "Profits in business," says he, "seem to me the same thing as victories in war." The noble gentleman was not far wide of the mark that time, and he evidently adheres to our position that the profits of the masters are made out of the blood of the workers. Further on he says:

"It is a serious thing to plunge into the question of measuring too closely with a 12 inch rule the exact profits that have been made during the few months since the commencement of the war." We should say not! It might, perhaps, awaken some suspicion in the minds of those who are giving their blood—for what? "Trading Companies are generally collections of poor people!! Such as the Northcliffe's, the Liptons, the Brunner Monds, etc., etc.

Further on he says, tearfully: "It has been suggested that the blotted people in the trading concerns of the country are not doing their duty to attend to the common business of society—the organisation of labour, the business of the government, the administration of justice, art, science, etc., just so long will distinct classes exist which are free from actual labour to carry on these functions. . . . The development of the great industry with its enormous increase in the forces of production for the first time permitted the subdivision of labour

and their lives in business (Lipton, Rothchild, Duke of Devonshire, Duke of Sutherland, etc.) and who by their industry (!!) give employment to the millions of working people." Dear, kind, benevolent souls! Further on he says: "If you take away not only the surplus profits during the period of the war, but impose large taxes besides, then, when the time comes and we have to enter the markets of the world in competition with other countries, the industrial and commercial classes will be unable to meet that competition with any prospect of success."

It is strange what things leak out when the thieves are squabbling. Lough pointed out that the Cabinet were not taxing themselves under the excess profits tax, and Sir Alfred Mond drew attention to the "fact that a deputation of a certain number of English motor-car manufacturers waited upon the officials at the Treasury in order to press for a Protective Tariff," and asked if the new motor tax is the result. Lough also said: "We know that motor-cars are being taxed because of a certain motor-car which is imported into this country from America, with which at the present time English motor-car manufacturers are not able to compete, and consequently British manufacturers require protection against that import until the time comes that they will once more be able to compete with it." (What is the difference between Free Traders and Protectionists?) He also pointed out that the "Evening News" had vigorously defended the tax on films imported into this country and pointed out that one of the Directors of the Association that owns the "Evening News"—Mr. Tod Anderson—has 3,000 shares in Regal Film Ltd. This is letting the cat out of the bag with a vengeance.

(All the above quotations are taken from "Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 71, No. 101.)

Thus the debate went on. Each interest squabbled sordidly as to who shall bear the least part of the expenses of the war—each trying to shift the burden on to other shoulders. If space would permit and the patience of the readers held out I could quote enough to fill columns showing the cold-blooded, mercenary spirit of the masters throughout this debate. While they are spending hours shifting the burden of payment, the latest returns show, according to Mr. Outhwaite (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 71, No. 103, p. 1571) that British casualties up to 10th Oct. in the Dardanelles alone amount to 96,800!

Such are the men who run "our" Empire; and such are the exalted views that guide them! Now, fellow slaves, what are you fighting for? Think!

M. G.

SOCIALISM V. PEACEMONGERS—*Contd.* class during "peace" time and who fight for the subjection of the working class. Therefore we cannot ally ourselves with these capitalists and clergymen, ex Cabinet Ministers and would-be Cabinet Ministers. We refuse to lower the Socialist flag to march with the enemies of Socialism. We know that, given the realisation of the whole of the Peace parties' programme, the horrors and misery of working-class slavery would be left untouched for the better. The very men who seek our help for "peace" now would be amongst the first to "war" on the working class.

The second reason for which we cannot unite with the stop the war movement is that it is important for its very object. Even if we held that it was policy to unite to stop the war it would be foolish to join in the programme of these societies. What machinery have they for stopping wars? None. Appeals to capitalists are their general methods. They propose to leave in power the masters of wars, the capitalist class. They intend to continue the profit-making system which itself produces commercial rivalry and inevitably international warfare.

Surely it is not now doubted that wars are born of the fight for spoil between capitalists. Throughout the last hundred years the economic objects of the various wars has stood out so clearly as to compel even capitalist writers to admit it.

Men such as the War Correspondent of the "Daily News," H. N. Brailsford, in his "War of Steel and Gold"; the member of the late Liberal Government, John M. Robertson, in his

"Psychology of Jingoism" and "Patriotism and Empire"; the "Daily Mail" War Correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War, F. A. McKenzie, in his "Tragedy of Korea." These and a list of others can be quoted to show that wars are caused in the ultimate analysis by the struggle for trade and territory by the master class.

Listen to the present clamour for "capturing the enemy's trade," putting a tariff upon enemy's goods, and such pocket appeals and judge the truth of the Socialist view.

If you wish to stop all wars you must stop all commercial competition and to do this you must work for Socialism. A. Kohn.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).

"Socialist" (Melbourne).

"Washington Socialist" (Washington).

"New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.).

"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

SOCIALISM

VERSUS

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.O.B.

AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective

Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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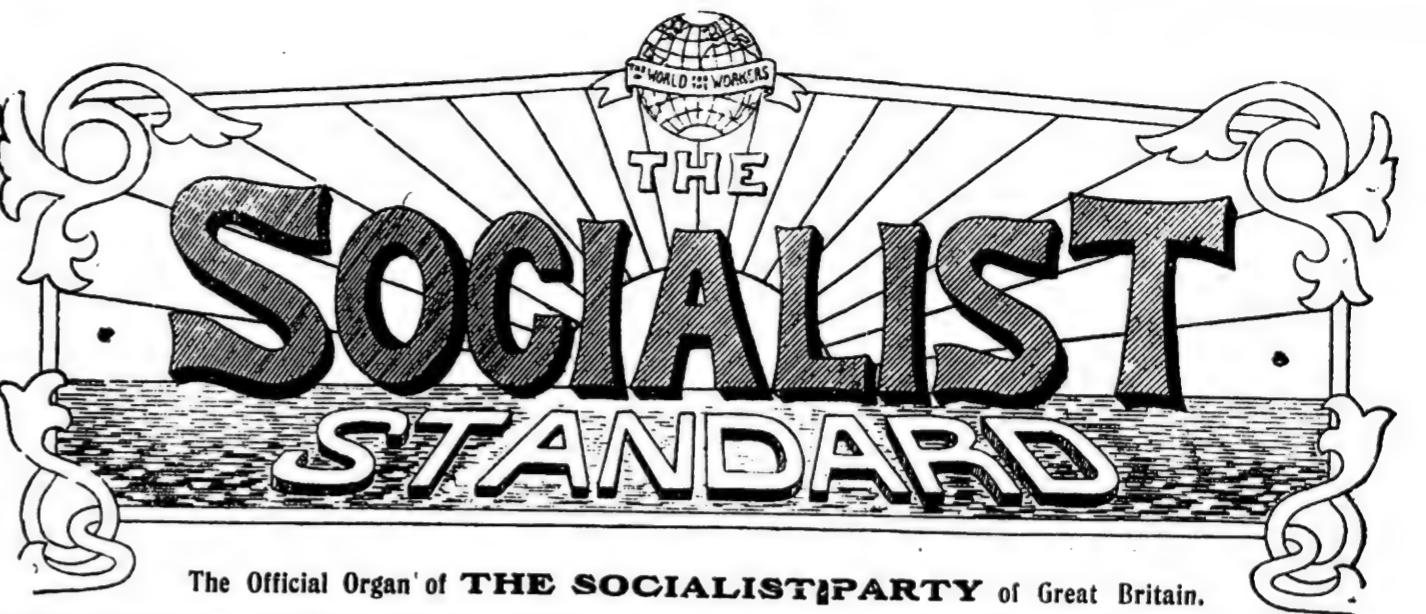
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM ?

AN ANALYSIS.

The answer depends largely upon the point of view. From one standpoint patriotism appears as the actual religion of the modern State. From another it is the decadence and perversion of a noble and deep-rooted impulse of loyalty to the social unit, acquired by mankind during the earliest stages of social life.

Definition and Others. From yet another viewpoint, that of capitalist interests, patriotism is nothing more or less than a convenient and potent instrument of domination.

The word itself, both etymologically and historically, has its root in paternity. In tribal days the feeling of social solidarity, which has now become debased into patriotism, was completely bound up with the religion of ancestor worship. In tribal religion, as in the tribe itself, all were united by ties of blood. The gods and their rites and ceremonies were exclusive to the tribesmen. All strangers were rigidly debarred from worship. The gods themselves were usually dead warriors. Every war was a holy war. Among the ancient Israelites, for instance, the holy Ark of Jehovah, Hosts accompanied the tribes to battle. It was this abode or movable tomb of the ancestral deity that went with the Jews in their march through the desert, and even to Jericho; playing an important part in the fall of that remarkable city. All the traditions of the Jewish religion, in fact, were identified with great national triumphs.

Thus tribal religion was completely interwoven with tribal aspirations and integrity. Tribal "patriotism" and religion were identical. Indeed, without the strongest possible social bond, without a kind of "patriotism" that implied the unhesitating self-sacrifice of the individual for the communal existence, it would have been utterly impossible for tribal man to have won through to civilization. Natural selection insured that only those social groups which developed this supreme instinct of mutual aid could survive; the rest were crushed out in the struggle for existence. Is it a matter for wonder if it be found that such a magnificent social impulse, so vital to the struggling groups of tribal man, received periodical consecration in the willing human sacrifices so common in

The Merits of the Early Brand. primitive religious ceremonial? Bound up with the deliberate manufacture of gods for the protection of the tribe and its works there is indicated a social recognition of the need for, and value of, the sacrifice of the individual for the common weal.

This noble impulse of social solidarity is the common inheritance of all mankind. But being a powerful social force it has lent itself to exploitation. Therefore with the development of class rule this great impulse is made subordinate

to the class interests of the rulers. It becomes debased and perverted to definite anti-social ends. As soon as the people become a slave class "the land of their fathers" is theirs no more. Patriotism to them becomes a fraudulent thing. The "country" is that of their masters alone. Nevertheless, the instinct of loyalty to the community is too deep-seated to be eradicated so easily, and it becomes a deadly weapon in the hands of the rulers against the people themselves.

With the decay of society based on kinship, religion changed also; and from being tribal and exclusive it became universal and propagandist. "Patriotism" at the same time began to distinguish itself from religion. The instinctive tribal loyalty became transformed, by the aid of religion and the fiction of kinship, into political loyalty. In a number of instances in political society, as in Tudor England, the struggle for priority between religion and patriotism became so acute as to help in the introduction of a more subservient form of religion. Thus patriotism became emancipated from religion, and the latter became a mere accessory to patriotism as handmaiden of class rule.

Though universal religion did not split up at the same time as the great empire that gave it birth, patriotism did so. The latter has, in fact, always adapted, enlarged, or contracted itself to fit the existing political unit, whether feudal estate, village, town, Conception.

A Most Accommodating ship, country, kingdom, republic or empire. No political form has been too absurd for it to fill with its loyalty. No discordance of race, colour or language has been universally effective against it.

What, then, is patriotism in essence to-day? It is usually defined as being devotion to the land of our fathers. But which is the land of our fathers? Our fathers came from many different parts of the world. The political division of the world in which we live is an artificial entity. The land has been wrested from other races. The nation they call "ours" is the result of a conquest over original inhabitants, and over ourselves, by successive ruling classes. Unlike the free tribesmen we are hirelings; we possess no country.

Nationality, of which patriotism is the superstition, covers no real entity other than that of a common oppression, a unified government. It does not comprise any unity of race, for in no nation is there one pure race, or anything like it. It does not cover a unity of language, for scarcely a nation exists in which several distinct languages are not indigenous. Nor is it any fixity of territory, for this changes from decade to decade, while the inhabitants of the transferred territory have to transfer their allegiance, their patriotism, to the new nation.

The only universal bond of nationality or patriotism that exists for us to-day is, then, that of subjection to a single government. Patriotism in the worker is pride in the common yoke imposed by a politically united ruling class. Yet

The Product we are called upon to honour of the above life itself. This badge

Analysis. of political servitude is called an object worthy of supreme sacrifice. The workers are expected to abandon all vital interests and sacrifice all they hold dear for the preservation of an artificial nationality that is little more than a manufactured unit of discord: a mere focus of economic and political strife.

Thus one of the noblest fruits of man's social evolution—the impulse of sacrifice for the social existence—is being prostituted by the capitalist class to maintain a system of exploitation, to obtain a commercial supremacy, and preserve or extend the boundaries of a superfluous political entity. The workers are duped by the ruling class into sacrificing themselves for the preservation of a politico-economic yoke of a particular form and colour. Many so-called Socialists have fallen headlong into this obvious trap.

Had social solidarity developed in equal measure with the broadening of men's real interests, it would now be universal in character instead of national. The wholesale mixture of races, and the economic interdependence of the whole world, show that nationalism is now a barrier, and patriotism, as we knew it, a curse. Only the whole world can now be rightly called the land of our fathers. Only in the service of the people of the whole world, and not against those of any part of it, can the instinct of social service find its highest and complete expression. The great Socialist has pointed the way. He did not call upon the workers of Germany alone to unite. He appealed to the toilers of the whole world to join hands; to a whole world of labour whose only less could be its parti-coloured chains. And in this alone lies the consummation of that tribal instinct of social solidarity of which patriotism is the perverted descendant.

Capitalism, therefore, stands as the barrier to the destruction of which will not only set free the productive forces of society for the good of

Something all, but will also liberate human solidarity and brotherhood **Better than** from the narrow confines of nationality and patriotism

Patriotism. Only victorious labour can make true the simple but pregnant statement: "mankind are my brethren, the world is my country." Patriotism and nationalism as we know them will then be remembered only as artificial restrictions of men's sympathy and mutual help; as obstacles to the expansion of the human mind, as impediments to the useful and helpful development of human unity.

and co-operation; as bonds that bound men to slavery; as incentives that set brothers at each others' throats.

Despite its shameless perversion by a robber class the great impulse to human solidarity is by no means dead. Economic factors give it an ever firmer basis, and in the Socialist movement it develops apace. Even the hellish system of individualism, with its doctrine of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, has been unable to kill it. And in the great class struggle of the workers against the drones, of the socially useful against the socially pernicious, in this last great struggle for the liberation of humanity from wage-slavery, the great principle of human solidarity, based upon the necessities of to-day and impelled by the deep-seated instincts of the race, will come to full fruition and win its supreme historical battle.

That is our hope and inspiration. For the present, however, we are surrounded by the horrors of war added to the horrors of exploitation, and subjected to the operation of open repression as well as to the arts of hypocrisy and fraud. With the weakening power of religion to keep the workers obedient, the false cult of nationality and patriotism is being exploited to the full. Like religion, patriotism has its vestments, its ceremonies, its sacred emblems, its sacred hymns and inspired music; all of which are called in aid of the class interests of our masters, and utilised desperately to lure millions to the shambles for their benefit. Thus is an heroic and glorious social impulse perverted and doctored to the support of a regime of wage-slavery, and to the furtherance of the damnable policy of the slave-holding class: to divide and rule.

F. C. W.

A FAKIR FLOORED.

Small incidents often illustrate large truths. Constantly the Socialist urges upon the working class the necessity for depending upon themselves and their own efforts to accomplish their emancipation, and to drop the superstition, so widely taught by the agents of the master class, that "they must have leaders," "somebody at the head," etc., to guide them on their way.

The formation of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was an important instance of the understanding by those who formed it, of the folly of relying on "leaders," and of the determination to rid themselves of such hindrances. But the potential "leader" is always wandering round looking for his opportunity, and the S.P.G.B. seemed to offer such an opportunity to one of these persons of the name of C. Lehane.

He was one of the original members of the Party, and was its first secretary, in which position he worked hard for some time. Then he began his scheming. Resigning his post as secretary he indulged in some underhand work to push one of his satellites into the position he had vacated. The attempt failed and Lehane began his intrigues at the Islington Branch of the S.P.G.B. that ended in his being expelled from the Party, by a Party vote, along with several members of that Branch. The facts of the case are set out in an article in the February, 1907 issue of the "Socialist Standard."

Even then his attempt did not end, for he and his followers claimed still to be members of the S.P.G.B., although in the same breath they denounced the Party as "rotten," and "corrupt," and further ran meetings etc. against us; but their farcical situation fizzled out in a few weeks.

The memory of this incident is revived by some newspaper cuttings from America, added to some notes from a couple of correspondents there. Some months ago Lehane left England for America, and a farewell supper was given to him that was attended by a number of notorious Labour frauds and leaders.

Evidently the name of the S.P.G.B. and its reputation were important assets in Lehane's estimation, for shortly after reaching America, in an interview published in the "New York Call," we find the following paragraph:

"He [Lehane] led the revolutionary wing of the English Socialist movement during the internal struggles of 1904, and founded the Socialist Party of Great Britain, whose first secretary he became. He

founded and edited for the first two years the London "Socialist Standard."

All the statements in the above paragraph are false with the exception of the one stating that he was the Party's first secretary, while with modesty somewhat unusual in Lehane, he quite omitted to tell the reporter that he had been expelled from the S.P.G.B.

The formation of the S.P.G.B. was not due to any individual, but was the result of the agitation by a section of the rank and file inside the old Social Democratic Federation (now the B.S.P.) for a straight Socialist policy. This agitation had been going on for some years before Lehane came to England, and so far was he from "leading" this wing, a thing they refused to allow any one to do, that he sat on the fence most of the time apparently trying to judge where the best chance of a job existed, and only threw in his lot with the seceders from the S.D.F. at the last moment. Neither did he found the "Socialist Standard." This was done by the Party at the suggestion of the 1st Executive Committee, and R. Elrick was first editor of the paper. Neither then nor at any other time had Lehane any hand in the editing or making up of the "Socialist Standard."

The "Call" reporter stated that Lehane showed him "credentials" from Bob Williams, Jim Larkin, Ben Tillett, Jim Connolly, Harry Lee, etc. Every one of these names stinks in the nostrils of the Socialists here because of its notorious record. Tillett's slimy fakirism and dirty capitalist crawling is known the world over, and has reached its present limit in the cowardly, lying recruiting campaign he is conducting to-day.

The reporter opens the interview with the remark: "We usually associate the qualities and characteristics of a man with those of his friends,"—a wordy paraphrase of a terse Irish saying: "Tell me your company and I'll tell you your character." The application in the present instance is striking. The association with such glaring frauds upon the working class as those given in the list above is a fair indication of the character and attitude of those deliberately seeking such association—as Lehane has done.

One of our correspondents sends us some statements Lehane made at a meeting in Detroit, Michigan, and they bear out completely the character one would be led to expect from such companions. Thus he is reported to have said, "Perhaps no man of his time has brought more worthy recruits to the ranks of the International Socialist movement."

It would be interesting to know the reporter's reasons for such a claim. How baseless is the boast is best shown by the fact that the recruits Lehane could in any sense claim to be responsible for were those members of the Islington Branch who, sleep like, followed him into—and out of—that Branch without ever having understood the principles of Socialism.

Doubtless the difficulty he found in getting hold of a soft job over here has been the decisive factor in his journeying to the wider land of the West, where, thousands of miles from those who know him, he may fancy himself free from any danger of exposure while gulling and exploiting the workers there. And for a time, under the peculiarly suitable patronage of the "Socialist" Party of America he may succeed in his mission. But sooner or later the truth will catch him up and our repudiation of his claims upon our work and organisation lay him bare for what he is.

Ed. Com.

SOCIALISM OR UTOPIA?

From the present writer's experience there still appears to be a considerable number of people who regard the Socialist as a utopian—a kind of mystic idealist who spends his time dreaming about a beautiful New World, weaving all manner of fanciful details from that ethereal entity, imagination. Yet why?

If we turn to the official Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party we find no trace of this fantastic frame of mind. It expresses nothing but the relations of forces actually existent at the present time, and only asserts anything concerning the future as the direct outcome of these relations. To the "genuine idealist" this attitude must appear "grossly materialistic," while even the "practical man" is invariably found criticising it for the very reason that it is devoid of any detailed elaboration.

Seeing, however, that all erroneous notions must reflect some facts albeit in a distorted

credit good in all neutral countries. To pretend to pit 4,700 men, even if armed with Springfield rifles (that are inferior to the British service rifle) and 3 machine guns against this powerful combination of forces is not even farcical—it is utterly idiotic.

The cream of the joke, however, is the ironic fact that, except for the purpose of putting a rapid end to the rising, the English Government need not move a single soldier or gunboat to crush it. When the Home Rule Bill was passing through Parliament a great deal of bluff and bluster was indulged in by both "Unionists" and "Home Rulers" and both sides began to raise and arm "Volunteer" forces to fight over the question. Large claims were made as to the numbers each had—sometimes figures of over 100,000 men on each side being given. The War came and then these "opposing" forces joined in their declaration to fight the German and semi-men to the Front. In a newspaper controversy a short time ago each side claimed to have sent over 30,000 men to the Army, a rather nasty knock to their previous bluff. The important point, however, is that these 60,000 "Volunteers" would readily combine to shoot down the 1,700 men of the "Citizen" Army to whose objects and views they are strongly opposed. The English Government could therefore easily win by merely setting one set of Irishmen against the other, as they did at Dublin and elsewhere.

The "New York World" of July 3rd, 1915 quotes from an address by Lehane to the American Labour unions where he states that: "The moment that the first British officer places his hand on the shoulder of an Irish working-man to draft him for war will be the moment when the social revolution that has been brewing in Ireland for many years will break out." This statement shows either an astounding ignorance of the conditions in Ireland or else the lengths to which Lehane is prepared to go in his attempts to bluff the workers of America.

In the fulsome flattery poured out in the interview published in the "Call" we are told: "Perhaps no man of his time has brought more worthy recruits to the ranks of the International Socialist movement."

It would be interesting to know the reporter's reasons for such a claim. How baseless is the boast is best shown by the fact that the recruits Lehane could in any sense claim to be responsible for were those members of the Islington Branch who, sleep like, followed him into—and out of—that Branch without ever having understood the principles of Socialism.

Doubtless the difficulty he found in getting hold of a soft job over here has been the decisive factor in his journeying to the wider land of the West, where, thousands of miles from those who know him, he may fancy himself free from any danger of exposure while gulling and exploiting the workers there. And for a time, under the peculiarly suitable patronage of the "Socialist" Party of America he may succeed in his mission. But sooner or later the truth will catch him up and our repudiation of his claims upon our work and organisation lay him bare for what he is.

Ed. Com.

out-of-focus fashion, it is well to discover such modicum of truth as may exist in anti-Socialist criticism before considering the case settled. While the modern Socialist, following the scientific method of Marx and Engels, can effectually clear himself of the charge of Utopianism, so much cannot be said of the forerunners of the movement such as Owen, St. Simon and Fourier. Our opponents are welcome to all the satisfaction they can get out of this, considering that we now-a-days recognise the efforts of the above-named thinkers to be getting on for a century out of date so far as their ideal reconstruction of society is concerned. Their criticisms of existing society, however, still hold good, and have been preserved by the analysis of Marx and placed upon "the solid rock" as Engels terms it.

The law of evolution holds good in the realm of theory no less than in the physical world; consequently Socialism could hardly be expected to spring itself on the world full-fledged and complete. Its germ came into being as the result of certain definite historical events, and has developed alongside of the full fruition of other results of these events.

About the middle of the eighteenth century mechanical industry took its rise, seized upon trade after trade until by now it has revolutionised the entire character of the production of wealth, converting isolated groups of workers into a vast economic network, and replacing competition between a large number of small manufacturers by that between a small number of Titanics concerns.

Early on it commenced to intensify the poverty of the workers and widen the gulf between them and their employers, and it was these facts, following on an increase of wealth produced, that gave the Utopists the data for their criticisms. Hard on the heels of the political upheaval in France which, in its turn, left the workers there worse off than before. Thus almost simultaneously the application of science to production and the establishment of "liberal institutions," so far from improving the condition of the majority of the people, brought increased misery for them.

This glaring contradiction could hardly fail to arouse the curiosity of such members of the educated class as had not completely prostituted their intellectual faculties to the service of the new capitalist order of society, and out of the genuine research thus developed arose certain definite critical opinions which extended to the conventionalities of society, religion, the State, marriage, etc., in addition to its economic basis, i.e., private property.

As yet, however, the class antagonism had only manifested itself in spasmodic conflicts such as the machine smashing riots, consequently these original critics of society had nothing to point to as the factor which was to supplant the existing structure by a new one. The organised revolt of the workers against exploitation was quite foreign to their notions. Hence they had to imagine some way out and started experiments according to elaborate schemes for the regulation of communal affairs. They ignored the fact that it was the new industrial change that made a social change possible, and cut themselves off from that change by forming small groups of co-operators and endeavouring to be independent of the rest of society. Such ventures were doomed to failure, not because of some imaginary innate individualism of mankind as some self-styled "practical people" insist, but by reason of their insufficient economic basis. To these ideal fantasias the term "Utopian" can correctly be applied. Curiously enough, however, it was the further development of industry and the growth of the class-war which simultaneously scuttled them and gave birth to the scientific Socialism of the Communist Manifesto.

In the early half of the nineteenth century the workers commenced to organise for the conflict with capital. Trades Unions sprang up and the movement for political rights, Chartism, came into being. The fact that these first efforts did not realise the sanguine aspirations prompting them rendered necessary a scientific analysis of the conditions of the field of battle; in other words, the pressing of critical research to fundamental issues. This led to the discovery of the actual method by which the workers are ex-

ploited and condemned to poverty, and of the necessary outcome of the consequent struggle, i.e., the conquest of political power by the workers and the abolition of exploitation by the conversion of the implements of social production into common property.

The key to the future was obtained not by imagination but by science. The class-war, which is the basic fact upon which modern Socialism as a theory rests, is no mere fantasy but bitter truth.

Socialism, i.e., the criticism of existing society and speculations concerning the future was only Utopian so long as the class-war between wage-earners and capitalists was in its rudimentary stages. No sooner did this struggle develop into the most vital and glaring phenomenon of social life than Socialism became a science. On the other hand, Utopianism, i.e., the deliberate attempt to plan beforehand a social ideal, while it became obsolete, nevertheless persisted in a new form. Instead of being part of an honest criticism of society it became a phase of capitalist politics. The more the workers commenced to chafe against their fitters, the more necessary it became from the capitalist viewpoint to provide them with visions of economic improvement. The "practical" class which had scorned the earlier Utopists' plea for social harmony on the ground that struggle was the law of life, now became anxious that the workers should not put this notion into practice. Hence the "brotherhood of capital and labour" became a most respectable doctrine, and all capitalist legislation took on the form of measures for "the amelioration of the lot of the masses." Every blessed section of the ruling class developed its own special kind of social policy. The Tory landowners boomed factory legislation, the Radical manufacturers went in for anti-Corn-Law agitation, all apparently for the benefit of the class they were mutually plundering, i.e., the working class. All the latter had to do was to allow the masters to continue to wield the political machine.

So soon as the workers acquired the franchise (as a result of the competition of different sections of the masters for their support) a new aspect of the question arose. In spite of all the promises of Tory and Radical, the onward march of machine industry rendered life even more burdensome to the workers and the class conflict more acute. The science of revolution spread, much to the rulers' dismay. A more elaborate Utopia became necessary to play the will-o'-the-wisp; and the more nearly it caricatured the revolutionary policy the better.

"Advanced wings" of the capitalist parties composed of "middle-class" parasites, journalists, lawyers, parsons, professional intellectuals of every description arose with a "new Socialism" which had the advantage of not being revolutionary—oh! dear no!—while it appeared on the surface to grant all that the "extremists" asked for. All that was done was to substitute the capitalist "State" for the "community" in the revolutionary formula.

From the standpoint of the capitalist, of course, there is no difference between the words. What community does he know of other than the organisation of his class? A community of organiser workers is to him something outside the realm of "practical politics."

To the genuine Socialist, however, the gradual purchase by the State of various concerns is but a phase of capitalist evolution. There is in it nothing more Socialistic than in the transformation of "private firms" into joint stock companies. In each case the transaction is conducted on approved business lines, the nominal ownership of material things being exchanged for interest bearing credit. Which means, for the worker, continued exploitation. Practical isn't it?

Parties whose political prestige is based on the boosting of this sham Utopia can never be anything but the catspaw of the master class; of this the compromise-stained records of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. are sufficient proof.

Yes! And when the International working class cease letting their brains out on hire, all the ruddy lot will get it—where the chopper hit the chicken. Meanwhile we hourly expect some similar royal greatness to be thrust upon us.

from the capitalist system itself, and can, therefore, never get them out of it, and the Socialist Party of Great Britain is following the only scientific course in opposing their endeavour to get the workers to indulge in such peregrinations.

We are not keen on drawing pictures of the future. Shall slaves imagine freedom they have not known? We are concerned with the vital present—the oppression of our class and our struggle to end it. There is only one way to unite and seize the actual means whereby we live.

There is nothing Utopian about this. All that is lacking is the consciously revolutionary organisation powerful enough to effect the change; and this is growing, slowly maybe, but surely, as the results of the present relations between the workers and the tools they use, force themselves upon our attention, along with the means by which these relations are maintained, i.e., the forces of government.

Every Socialist principle is but the actual reflection of existing circumstances which, when correctly analysed and grasped in their entirety, provide us with the essential programme of a working-class political party.

E. B.

WHY THE LIGHT OF TRUTH SHOULD BE EXTINGUISHED.

There recently appeared a new weekly devoted to matters of interest to those who patronise the Cinema. Its title is "Film Flasher," and one of the flashes that illuminated its first number is reproduced below. It is worth noting as a manifestation of the class war: as one of the methods employed by the master class to suppress anything that would tend to enlighten the workers. The cutting follows.

We should regret to see exhibitors give much prominence to the new Metro picture, "The Big Man," recently exhibited at a trade show at the Shaftesbury Pavilion. "The Big Man" introduces the highly controversial subject of Capital and Labour, and shows a fight in progress between Strikers and Strike-breakers, which culminates in the appearance of a large body of troops under orders, it is true, to fire on the mob. *It is designed at a time like this, it would be very unsafe, if not dangerous, to awaken thoughts of the old and bitter strife of past years,* and we sincerely hope that Rafferty will reconsider their attitude in regard to the release of this picture. Many of the scenes, which are intended to contrast the great gulf existing between the master and man, are overdrawn, and although these things may portray American labour life correctly enough, *they are happily not true in regard to this country.* (italics mine.)

Choice, isn't it?

In these days it is "very unwise, if not dangerous," to comment too freely upon the doings of our masters. (I believe it is considered treason even to whisper to your next-door neighbour that you always preferred Kiel butter to British wagon fat.) Else the writer would dearly like to quote from a few other sources: material is never wanting with which to confute the case for capitalism. Further than this the writer makes no comment, preferring to leave it to thinking readers to provide their own.

MAY FIELD.

In an article in the "Daily Express" (28.9.15) entitled "Kaiser and the Socialists," reference is made to the Kaiser's conquest of the Socialist (so-called) leader of Karlsruhe, one Fendrich, who has been serving with the Kaiser's legions. It seems Fendrich has written his war experiences for the Imperial benefit. An interview resulted and the royal personage shook Fendrich by the hand and thanked him. The scribe says regarding Wilhelm's persuasive way:

He has already convinced men like Scheidemann, Haase, Franck, and all other governmental Socialists. Fendrich is only one more. He will get the Iron Cross. Dr. Sudekum, the Socialist leader, got it.

Yes! And when the International working class cease letting their brains out on hire, all the ruddy lot will get it—where the chopper hit the chicken. Meanwhile we hourly expect some similar royal greatness to be thrust upon us.

B. B. B.

Exigencies of space compel us to hold over the instalment of "Our Case In Brief."

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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THE GREATER WAR.**THE NATIONAL THRIFT CAMPAIGN.
AND THE WORKERS.**

One notable feature of the campaign of thrift that is being carried on is that it is directed almost exclusively at the working class. A National Thrift Conference is held, but who are the invited? Are they the society dames whose vanity and extravagance deprive of health and sunlight the wives and children of workers? Are they men of wealth and leisure whose haunts have branches in the various fashionable resorts, whose town and country residences are filled with domestic luxury, whose high-powered motors maim and kill the workers' children, and whose whole wealth is a toll levied on the labour and happiness of wage workers? These are not the invited. It is they who invite the trade union executives and officials to confer with ministers of State in order to further the campaign of thrift among the have-nots!

Readers of the daily Press are treated to ridiculous stories of workers in one-room tenements who instal pianos therein, of workers who spend large sums on beer or jewellery; and one journal, with unconscious humour, gives as evidence of the unprecedented prosperity of the labouring class, the great demand for second-hand clothing that is caused by thousands being able for the first time to purchase complete suits of cast-off clothes! So grave does the Government profess to consider this extravagance that it is even proposed to make thrift among the working class compulsory.

All this, it should be noted, is because a number of war workers are toiling overtime, and undergoing thereby a wastage of muscle and brain and life that the increase in pay and total lack of leisure entirely fail to enable them to replace.

The increase in cost of necessities has been variously estimated by capitalist authorities at from 43 to 50 per cent., and they are careful not to over-estimate. In most cases during the same period wages have not increased at all; in many cases they have seriously decreased; while in those industries in which more wages are paid the average amount of the increase by no means equals the increase in the price of living.

In normal times the remuneration of the workers leaves not the slightest justifiable margin for either waste or saving. There is a life-long training in economy. It is a profound truth that man cannot live by bread alone, yet too often the workers lack even this; and we know that one-third of the population of these

islands exists upon a remuneration that is insufficient to provide bare physical efficiency. As Mr. Chiozza Money states in his "Riches and Poverty,"

When we realise that 38,000,000 out of our 50,000,000 are poor, the statistics of Booth and Rowntree cease to surprise us. In analysis, the United Kingdom is seen to contain a great multitude of poor people, venerated with a thin layer of the comfortable and the rich.

How, then, can the workers be expected to save? Why is there this attempt to get blood out of a stone? Is there not the strongest presumption that it is to ascertain if possible the lowest limit upon which the workers can subsist, in order to adjust wages to the lower level in the masters' interest?

The campaign with regard to the well-to-do seems to take a different form. It is largely evidenced in the advertisements that fill the journals read by the comfortable class. Thus under the heading of "War Economies" there are displayed "war bargains" in fur cloaks and the like at 30 guineas upward, special bargains in mansions and new automobiles, war bargains in highly profitable investments, or there are announcements of luxuriant and costly hotel and restaurant fare made still more palatable by the services of celebrated artists and musicians.

But the indulgence of the workers in such "war economies" would be an utterly unheard-of thing. The bare possibility of it would shake the foundations of capitalist society.

What is this?

The ruling class cannot give the true answer without condemning their whole regime. Yet they, who enjoy all good things and produce none, brand as extravagant those who produce all but are not able to enjoy, and whose reason for not having is simply that they cannot.

The capitalists, indeed, always have done and are still doing their utmost to make it totally impossible for the workers to save. Those who can are taking advantage of the war-time restriction of supply or increase in demand to realise, temporarily, at least, abnormal profits. A man could go stone blind, in fact, trying to see evidences of sacrifice on the part of the employing class.

The sudden expansion in the demand for house-room all around every munition area is taken full advantage of to extort more rent, and magistrates support the sacred principles of capitalist political economy by granting eviction orders. So glaring has this "wide-spread brigandage" become that even an M.P., Mr. Alfred Yeo, says in the "Daily Chronicle" of Nov. 5th:

The noblest of our sons are giving their life's blood to defend from German horrors not only their own hearths and homes, their own wives and children, but the hearths and homes, the wives and children, even the sacred persons, of the landlords themselves.

And what thanks do they get?

"We are proud of you," is what in effect these landlords say. "You are fighting to keep a German invasion from us, and to show our appreciation of what you are doing at the front, we have decided in your absence to raise your rent one shilling a week or turn your dependents into the streets."

A Bill to deal with this is spoken of at the time of writing, and its provisions as now outlined entirely miss the tenements which are the chief source of complaint, while the nature of the Bill may be safely judged by the fact that the great London Property Owners Association has given it its blessing. As with other such Bills of recent memory, it can be little else than a legal sanction of the daylight robbery that is already going on.

It is all round. Coal is still rising in price, yet we find an item like the following in the "Daily News and Leader" of Nov. 17th:

MINERS' WAGES REDUCED.

A meeting of the South Wales Coal Conciliation Board was held at Cardiff yesterday, when Earl St. Aldwyn, independent chairman, presided, and the owners' application for a five per cent. reduction in the general wage rate was granted.

The profits of shipping companies are up on an average over 50 per cent. Factories connected in any way with war work are making admittedly large profits, though the true extent of these is hidden by the overlay on new machinery and improvements in the works, or other well-known dodges. The restriction of supply upsets

the balance of the market price at the labour cost of production, and enables dealers, for the time being, to raise prices wholesale. These give as their excuse in most cases (despite the greater employment of cheap woman and child labour) the lying statement that the higher price is due to the greater cost of labour. Flour millers and the like are also increasing their dividends—and their reserves—so that a decrease in the price of wheat has come to mean an increase in the price of bread!

The contrast between the position of the employers and that of the workmen is significant; and though the employers are full of patriotism, it may be noticed how clearly their patriotism has the accent on the pay!

That, in fact, is the essence of the whole position. The workers are called upon to sacrifice their remnants of liberty, their health, their limbs, their lives—for what? They are threatened with starvation in order to make them save a voluntary system that is voluntary only to the idle class. Newspapers display notices in the national interest" advertisers must not give employment to workmen of military age. But though the worker has to sacrifice all he possesses, the capitalist only offers his wealth against the highest security and for a thumping interest! The worker's sacrifice is dead loss to him: that of the wealthy is all profit. That is the difference.

These facts are incontrovertible. The class cleavage in society must, to use a common expression, hit every thinking man in the eye. Yet the workers in the main appear to be hypnotised into vacuous acquiescence in this class tyranny by the tireless mendacity of capitalist Press, platform, and pulpit. The workers have brains, though the fact might sometimes be doubted; but they prostitute their brains to their masters' interests. They run the industries, do the work—and get the kicks. Is it not, therefore, about time they started in dead earnest to use their brains on behalf of their own families, their own work-folks, their own two humble selves? The future of humanity depends upon their doing so, for it is a profoundly true saying that "militant, the workers' cause is identical with class; triumphant, with humanity." In sober truth, indeed, despite the fearful European shambles, a true perspective will show that the greater war is the class war.

BY THE WAY.

As a result of the long and bloody struggle, which has now engaged the world's attention for something like fifteen months, we find our masters and their agents taking a keen interest in the question of mother and baby. The "Daily Chronicle," in large headlines, informs us that "Good Motherhood means bigger and stronger Armies of the future." This is decidedly funny! What need is there for large armies in the future? Have we not been repeatedly told in the capitalist Press and on the platform that "this war is to end war"? Verily, verily, I say unto you: Liars need good memories.

Of course, our masters know that so long as their vile system of society lasts—this catch-as-catch-can-do-my-neighbour form—so long will the germs of warfare exist, and hence their increased interest in a plentiful supply of healthy infants.

In passing, one must notice the difference that exists in the methods employed by our masters and those of the common or garden working men when meeting to discuss some item of importance. The former, as a preliminary canter, have "a dinner," whilst the latter get immediately to business, and, if financially strong enough, after might adjourn to the sign of "Old and Mild."

However, this all important question of cannon fodder for the future was discussed at a dinner at the Lyceum Club, when Mrs. Phillip, the chairman, referred to it as "The noble art of mothercraft," and said, "What we want is a better chance for all children, and not merely those of the poorer classes."

Dr. Newsholme, of the Local Government Board, gave some interesting figures and facts about this important population question. He pointed out that:

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We might have had many more potential soldiers if the birth-rate of 1914 had been equal to that of 1876. If it had kept up to the former level 50,000 more babies would have come into the world last year than the number recorded. This decrease has been going on for 38 years. We might have had a much larger number of fighting men if small families had not become so fashionable. —"Daily Chronicle," 26.10.15.

With the development of schools for mothers, meals, etc., for expectant mothers and sterilised milk depots for young children, our masters are hard put to it in their endeavour to raise and maintain an adequate number of slaves, who shall serve them in the industrial army or as a fighting force in days to come.

Mr. Will Crooks recently addressed a meeting in the People's Palace, Mile End Road, with the object of securing recruits. In the course of his remarks he said: "Don't some of you want to join? What are you hanging back for? Are you waiting for a safe job till somebody doesn't come back for it? I can imagine what will happen. The employer will ask where you were in 1915-16, and if he finds that you belonged to the Stay-at-Home-Rangers, he will say to you, 'Good morning; mind the step.'"

"It is a people's war; a war for the people's rights and liberties."

Doubtless it never occurs to the Woolwich gent that some "hang back" to maintain their "rights and liberties"; but, of course, here the small number of people have no "rights and liberties." We are fighting on behalf of small nations! The threat of the employer saying "Good morning" may be a good incentive to "voluntary enlistment"! Finally we would suggest to our hon. friend that there are other places than Mile End where he might try his prentice hand, for has not that other great recruiting sergeant, Ben Tillett, told us over and over again that "95 per cent. of our fighting forces are enlisted from the ranks of the working class." Here, then, is a new field for the recruiting agent.

An Oxford undergraduate serving with the Royal Engineers in France gives the following account of scenes behind the British front:

I went up as far as the entrance to the communication trenches and watched the wounded coming out. It was a sight I shall never forget. About one-fourth of the men coming out were Germans, wounded . . . the wounded and our wounded were straggling out, apparently the greatest friends. It was a fellowship bond of suffering, a brotherhood of pain.

Those who could walk were supporting those who could not. I saw two Germans, wounded, one in the head, the other in the arm, supporting between them a Scottish soldier with a shrapnel wound in both thighs. —"Daily Mail," 12.10.15.

"Apparently the greatest friends." A fellowship bond of suffering. Yes, possibly, until then they had never realised that they had no quarrel, perhaps never met before; but, alas, the trumpet-call had sounded, their masters had fallen out and were going to settle their differences by force of arms and they had been goaded to take sides in the dispute.

The increased rent campaign of a section of the masters serves a useful purpose in once again emphasizing the unique "oneness" of the nation in this hour of suffering. In our perusal of the Press we notice that there is complete unanimity in this respect with the international master class. So strong is the pressure in some parts that we find the wives of the men who are fighting "our" battles so filled with righteous wrath and indignation that a deputation, accompanied by thousands of women, waited upon the Glasgow Corporation to protest against increases of rent. We are told that they carried a banner with the inscription:

Our husbands, sons, and brothers are fighting the Prussians of Germany; we are fighting the Prussians of Partition. —"Daily Chronicle," 8.10.15.

Such pungent sarcasm as this was not allowed to go unnoticed and we find the matter raised in the House of Commons on the motion for adjournment, when a member stated that "this kind of thing (raising rent) is going to sow industrial discontent and unrest."

A few days later in the columns of the same

paper we find half-a-column devoted to the case of a woman in Germany, whose husband had been at the front since the beginning of the war, and who had received a letter from her landlord asking for the payment of the balance of her rent within 24 hours, otherwise steps would be taken. She had paid her rent regularly until two months ago, when bad health had overpowered her.

"Forward" then points out to its readers that a woman's husband has been fighting for more than a year to defend this landlord's house, a man who is sitting at his ease in Berlin raking in rents which have not been reduced by one pfennig. The shopkeepers also are charging the woman exorbitant prices for every necessary of life. Thanks to their skill in exploiting the poor and wretched, the wretched behind with her rent. She found it impossible to make both ends meet . . . and thereupon down comes this blood-sucker and threatens to throw her out of house and home. And all the time her husband, who was torn away from his work, is keeping the Watch on the Rhine and endangering his life for the Fatherland. —"Daily Chronicle," 11.10.15.

We would once again reiterate the Marxian slogan: "Wage Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a World to win!"

We have for months past received exhortations to economy from all quarters. Printing machines have been busily engaged turning out handbills and posters by the thousand adjuring us to eat less meat, to waste nothing, and be careful with our bread. Yet it is only about three years since that Lloyd George stated that: "You had got side by side with most extravagant wealth, multitudes of people who cannot consider 'even a bare subsistence' as assured to them. What do I mean by bare subsistence? I don't mean luxuries. I exclude even comforts. I mean that minimum of food, raiment, shelter, and practically the care which is essential to keep human life in its tenuity of clay. The wolves of hunger prowl constantly round millions of doors in the land."

Do our masters really imagine that the working class can do ought else than practise economy now, as ever, particularly bearing in mind that capitalist statisticians admit a 34 per cent. increase in the cost of living? However, we have noticed during times past that things are vastly different with our bosses, as instance the following:

THE LORD MAYOR'S MENU.

Turtle	Clear Turtle
Fillets of Soles	Sauce Tartare
Mousses Lobster	Casseroles of Partridge
Barons of Beef	Capons Bechamel
Smoked Tongues	Game Pies
Orange Jellies	Meringues
Maids of Honour	Princess Pastry
Charlotte Russe	Ices
Wines	Dessert
	Wines

"Daily Express," 10.11.15.

We would suggest that practice is better than precept.

REMEMBER!

Surely we will remember. When the time of reparation comes, as come it must, we will remember many an age and clime, Many a life down-trodden in the dust; The Negroes bent and broken by the whip, The Chinese children bought and sold in shame. The white girl held in prostitution's grip. The white man free in nothing but in name. We will remember those who died in vain To quench a nation's blood-thirst; all the scorn, Indignities and insults that we bore. And you, our masters, you, our curse and bane, Shall bear a tithing of what we slaves have borne Ere gladly you forget for evermore.

F. J. W.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

The Editorial Committee desire to impress upon Comrades that it is advisable that literary contributions to the Party Organ should come to hand before the issue for which they are intended is in the hands of the public, as after that it is awkward to include other matter.

'OUR ENEMY AT HOME.'

If the above-quoted phrase were mentioned to a Socialist in "peace" time or in war time his (or her) mind would immediately incline toward a consideration of the capitalist class. An anti-Socialist would obviously place a different construction upon the phrase from that placed upon it by a Socialist.

That this is so apparent from a pamphlet, bearing the title: "Our Enemy at Home," issued by the Anti-Socialist Union, and the authorship of which is claimed (or admitted) by a Mr. Cecil Shirley. The cover is a colourable imitation of that now familiar eye-sore, khaki, and it bears two crossed Union Jacks on a white background—the latter symbolical of purity, and the former of England.

The pamphlet is ostensibly an exposure of Socialist activities during the present war, but the "Socialist" character of the activities exposed can well be measured when it is discovered that the sources of the majority of the extracts are given as "The Daily Herald," "The Labour Leader," "The New Statesman," and "Forward." Some of these papers may be anti-war in character, but they do not thereby assume a Socialist aspect, just as a hatred of pork does indicate an adherence to vegetarianism. Two extracts are given from the SOCIALIST STANDARD, as a saving grace, presumably.

The author's knowledge of and acquaintance with Socialism is admirably illustrated by the following gem, which appears on the title page:

the nation" (1912). On page 43 he said: "The conditions amid which millions of our people are living appear to me to make it natural that they should not care a straw under what rule they may be called upon to dwell, and I can quite understand their want of patriotism."

And again on pp. 44 and 45: "Yet recent unimpeachable evidence makes it clear that, to tens of thousands of Englishmen engaged in daily toil, the call to 'sacrifice' themselves for their country must seem an insult to their reason; for those conditions amid which they live make their lives already an unending sacrifice." Thus the late Lord Roberts—a patriot whose integrity Mr. Shirley will not question. It is the "unimpeachable evidence" and the causes thereof that have given ground to the Socialist attitude of which our pamphleteer complains, which give rise, in fact, to the whole Socialist propaganda. Remove them, and there will be no anti-Socialist complaints, for there will be no anti-Socialist to complain.

The pamphlet gives two extracts from the SOCIALIST STANDARD, as follows: "The working class is not in our masters' schemes except to afford the latter riotous luxury and, in time of war, providing food for cannon" (July 1915) and "Having hō quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism" (September 1914). Of these extracts, needless to say, we are unashamed. And strange though it may seem in the circumstances, both the quotations are verified at the sources given.

We are told (p. 26): "But the opponents of Socialism can never forget what has been done and said by so many Socialists at a time when the country and the Empire were struggling for their very existence," and again (p. 28) "Patriots one and all . . . will certainly remember what has been said and written during these critical times by Our Enemy At Home." This remembrance will serve its purpose—if it comes to pass), and it is as well that the extracts from our paper are recorded, for in the future we need to justify our attitude, not in the eyes of the capitalist class, but only in those of the working class. It is hoped that these foreshadowed memories will be active when the present awful holocaust has ended. And not only this, but those patriots who are to-day so smitten with war-fever may remember also what has been said by their present day friends. The promises made; the attractions offered; the glittering appeals; the honourable thoughts: let these be remembered and contrasted with the conditions which will then be experienced.

Mr. Shirley goes into the questions of pre-war diplomacy, of opposition to recruiting, of Socialists' sneers at Belgium. He protests against jeering at the German atrocities, forgetful that the war is, in itself, one huge atrocity—a necessary concomitant of that human bane called capitalism. Against the Socialists he uses all those weapons that are to-day used by each sect against all others because they do not see eye-to-eye on certain war transactions. Against the Socialists these weapons fail. The powder is wet or else the gun has a faulty bore.

Our attitude, from a working-class standpoint, will bear the light of day and the test of time and truth. We will hang our heads in shame at what we have said and done our opponents would immediately be half-victorious. But we are not ashamed; we glory in the fact that during one of the greatest catastrophes that has yet overwhelmed mankind, we have kept our heads—and our feet; we have remained true to our principles. The war is not yet over, and our victory has not yet come, but our present attitude augurs well for the future, and it is the consciousness of this that disgruntles the capitalist Shirleys.

Perhaps, after the war, one bright little urchin will approach our pamphleteer with the well-rehearsed question: "What did you do, Daddy, in the great war?" and Daddy, filling his chest with pompous pride, might reply: "I wrote a pamphlet. I helped to crush Prussian militarism by telling Socialists that which they already knew and convincing those who were never in doubt."

A. L. C.

THE S.L.P. OF AMERICA AGAIN.

The "Weekly People" (New York) returns in its issue of October 16th to the controversy which has been carried on recently in its pages and those of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. Things are in a bad way, however, with the "Weekly People," as is evidenced by the fact that it is forced to strain every nerve to keep its readers amused in order to hide the fact that it has nothing more to contribute to the discussion. It is humour of the first water, of course, to depict the "S.S." as a band indulging "itself" in the sport of furnishing the "music" which it told the Socialist Labour Party of America it would have to face sooner or later. That humour, however, is only the grimes our antagonist is indulging in in the hope of detracting attention from the sorry figure it is dancing to the music supplied.

It may be remembered that in our September issue we took from the S.L.P. "Address to the Affiliated Parties of the International Socialist Bureau," the following:

Besides, we believe that after the war is over the political conditions will be so adjusted as to compel the European comrades to give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism.

and that we adduced this as disproving our opponents' claim that their Address made "NO

attempt to keep the workers from turning their eyes to class-conscious political action." Of

course, they don't like to have this brought up against them. This unfortunate utterance, which arises out of their rock-bottom contempt for SOCIALIST political action, they think we should have been blind to. That it appeared in an Address issued by the Executive of the S.L.P. to the International Movement is nothing. It should be ignored, regarded as a meaningless vapouring—or if it was referred to at all it should have been accompanied by its context with special annotation making clear that, though the authors of the Address said in this place that they thought that after the war the European comrades would have to abandon political action ("give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism"), other parts of their Address indicated that they didn't think anything of the kind. If we had only done that we should have produced harmony that our opponents would have been delighted to dance to. Also it would have saved them the trouble of playing that dreamy waltz themselves.

For this is all they have been able to achieve. The statement in the Address that its authors thought that after the war political conditions will be so adjusted as to compel the European comrades to give their undivided attention to the question of industrial unionism is plain enough for anything. How this is to come about might be open to astonishing explanation,

it is true, but no explanation that does not demolish the statement can affect its definite pronouncement that its authors think that after the war the European comrades would be compelled to give their UNDIVIDED attention to the question of industrial unionism. The statement does not depend on its context. To insist on the context is simply to whine to be allowed to drop the statement out.

Now it is clear that the same adjustment of "political conditions" that the S.L.P. Executive conceive of as compelling "the European comrades to give their UNDIVIDED attention to the question of industrial unionism" must force compel them to cease bestowing any of that attention upon political action. No appeal to the "context" can alter this fact, nor can any sarcastic references to "ingenious logic-choppers" who are more concerned with the twisting awry of words and the fitting together of phrases to a syllogistic subtlety than they are in gathering the meaning or extracting the essence of an argument or declaration." There is a rich roll in all that, but it is so familiar. The illogical cornered usually raises the cry, "logic-choppers." But if there is any other "meaning or essence" in the declaration than that which we have found, why do not our opponents "extract" it for us?

They do not because at the very bottom they do not believe in the vital necessity for political action. In spite of the reiteration of the demand for political organisation this note of disbelief in the essential need for political action runs through the Address. The vagueness of this document makes it difficult to illustrate this by extracts (which also have the disadvantage of leaving behind a "context"), but the atmosphere of the Address has been translated in an answer to a correspondent in the "Weekly People" of Sept. 4th, in which it is said:

If the Socialist forces of Europe had been industrially organised, and when we say "industrially organised" we mean revolutionarily industrially organised, they could with their present numbers have PREVENTED THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

There it is, plain enough. In spite of the fact that the S.L.P. recognises that the "European comrades" are "so enmeshed in bourgeois politics" that they have lost sight of Socialism—in other words, they are politically rotten—yet there is no single word in the reply to their correspondent to indicate that that political rotteness is even a factor in the failure of the International in the face of the crisis of August 1914. This contempt for the political weapon, prevailing in the Address, belies all our opponents' mouthings about being "committed to class-conscious political action."

The fact is the S.L.P. have not grasped the true aim of Socialist political action—the real value of the political weapon. De Leon never grasped them, and those who still preach his absurdities, being mentally bound by the legacy of shallow thought he bestowed upon them have no glimmering conception of the true function of the political weapon in Socialist hands.

On the 10th July, 1905, Daniel De Leon delivered an address at Union Temple, Minneapolis, Minnesota. This address was published by the Socialist Labour Party of America under the title: "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World." On pp. 36-7 of that publication De Leon is reported as saying:

The bourgeois shell in which the Social Revolution must partly shape its course dictates the setting up of a body that shall contest the possession of the political Robber Burg by the Capitalist Class. The reason for such initial tactics also dictates their ultimate goal: THE RAZING WITH THE GROUND THE ROBBER BURG OF CAPITALIST TYRANNY. The shops, the yards, the mills, in short, the mechanical establishments of production, now in the hands of the Capitalist Class—they are all to be "taken" not for the purpose of being destroyed, but for the purpose of being "held"; . . . It is exactly the reverse with the "political power." That is to be taken for the purpose of ABOLISHING IT. . . . Suppose that at some election the class-conscious political arm of Labor were to sweep the field; suppose the sweeping were done in such a landslide fashion that . . . from President down to Congress and the rest of the political redoubts of the capitalist political Robber Burg, our candidates were installed; suppose that, what would there be for them to do? What should there be for them to do? Simply TO ADJOURN THEMSELVES, ON THE SPOT, SINE DIE.

That is the conception De Leon had of the end of political conquest. His idea of "razing with the ground the Robber Burg of capitalist tyranny" was simply to capture the machinery of Government and instantly abandon it. His idea of a political organisation was a body so hide-bound that it could have no consciousness outside politics. It could not know that its economic counterpart purposed "taking and holding" the "plants of production and distribution," therefore it could not continue to hold the "Robber Burg of capitalist tyranny," in order that it might control the armed forces that the capitalists have provided against any attempt to take and hold their property. No, that (says De Leon) "would be usurpation." The elected representatives could only "adjourn themselves sine die." They could not even stop to take away the policeman's baton and disband the armed forces, to make things easier for the economic arm in its task of taking and holding.

Where such a conception as this exists of the political triumph how can there be any fundamental belief in the essential necessity for political action—or any respect for it? If the political triumph means no more than the capture of the enemy's guns and the immediate abandonment of them to the enemy again, then we also should say to blazes with political effort. If the political triumph would still leave the armed forces and other instruments of oppression in the capitalist control, then we also might:

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pass as near enough the S.L.P. dictum that the "economic organisation [is] . . . the only conceivable force with which to back up the ballot"—which wouldn't then be worth backing up. If nothing more was to be gained by political conquest than the S.L.P. imagine, then we should have to find a sole reason for political endeavour in De Leon's ingenious argument that the institution of the suffrage "is so bred in the bones of the people that . . . chimerical is the idea of expecting to conduct a great Movement, whose palpable aim is a Socialist Revolution, to the slogan of 'Abstinence from the Ballot-box'."

The S.L.P., then, applauded those tactics of the German Social Democratic Party which led to the latter "becoming so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight, for the moment at least, of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement." They praised that "enlightened conduct" which culminated in the vote of credit for the war. In face of endorsement of action which has had so sad a result one might expect a little caution in replying to the question whether the actions of such people can be Socialist action. If they maintain it, indeed! Let them deny that they maintain it and they are up a tree; let them admit it and they concede the point.

But we have other views regarding the political weapon—views which prevent us from harbouring even a thought of such shallow and cynical expediency, the mere expression of which reveals a contempt for the true function of Socialist political action which give the lie to our opponents' claim to political integrity.

But there is more music to come on this phase of the discussion. The report of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World quotes (p. 226) De Leon as saying:

The situation in America . . . establishes the fact that the "taking and the holding" of the things that labor needs to be free can never depend upon a political party. (Applause.) If anything is clear in the American situation it is this: That if any individual is elected to office upon a revolutionary ballot, that individual is a suspicious character. (Applause.) Whoever is returned elected on a program of labour emancipation: whoever is allowed to be filtered through by the political inspectors of the capitalist class; that man is a carefully selected tool, a traitor to the working people, selected by the capitalist class. (Applause.)

These well applauded but dismal sentiments lead to the logical conclusion that political endeavour is futile. Surely, in face of such a hopeless situation the only sensible thing to do is to foreclose on the political organisation and have done with it. Any talk of dismantling the capitalist "political Robber Burg," if this is the position, is sheer rainbow-chewing. It does, however, throw an illuminating ray over that passage we are accused of having torn from its context, and justifies our reading of it. For if, as the S.L.P. Address tells us, the "country that is more developed industrially [America] only shows to the less developed the image of its own future," then when the political situation described by De Leon as existing in America, develops in Europe, the "European comrades" will probably be forced into the non-political lines of action prophesied for them by the S.I.P. That, however, only substantiates what we said, that the Address was a deliberate attempt to prevent the workers from turning their eyes to class-conscious political action.

Now for another point. We challenged our opponents upon their implication that the action of those who "have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have lost sight of the ultimate goal of the Socialist Movement" can be Socialist action. "Ha," laughs the "Weekly People," "how the challenge rings . . . calling upon us to prove if we maintain it—that the action of those" and so on. If they maintain it! What caution! To confirm our view of the matter we quote the Address as follows:

We recognise the fact that the Socialists of Europe have been confronted with many problems which had to be solved before the real issue, Socialism versus Capitalism, could be decided. These problems have been largely of a political nature. Politically, Europe as a whole is far behind the United States. Here the issue is clear and clear, Socialism versus full-grown Capitalism. Not so in Europe. There large remnants of feudalism remained, blocking the path of Socialist revolutionary progress, and the attention of the European comrades has therefore been given almost exclusively to these problems, with the result that they have become so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they have apparently lost sight, for the moment at least, of the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement.

And now this from the "Weekly People" of Dec. 12, 1908:

The enlightened conduct of the German Social Democracy will be misunderstood only by the pure and simple Socialist politician of America. For the identical reason that the German Social Democracy deserves applause for temporarily suspending its Socialist work and assisting the bourgeois Radicals, such a policy in America deserves condemnation only. . . . As an applauder of the German Social Democracy, the S.L.P. of America rejects, for America, the tactics that German conditions demand.

WORDS TO THE WISE.

Men are running short—save the kids!

Capitalism is no longer a system, it's a bloody mess.

Socialism, therefore, is not a mere theory, it's a necessity.

In short, Socialism is not a dream, though capitalism is a nightmare.

To do nothing to end it is to maintain the regime of murder and robbery.

Socialism, said the holy friar, will destroy civilisation; well! what is capitalism doing?

Churchill has gone to the front. Now perhaps we shall soon hear of the Germans being gassed.

There is one certain remedy for Socialism, said the statesman, and that is war! But will capitalism survive it?

Bill Nye said: "It is the duty of the great orator to howl for war, and then hold some other man's coat while he fights." The orators are not tired yet.

The workingman who votes for and champions the class that robs him is like the ill-treated cur that licks the hand that thrashed it.

Oh yes! The boss and his workers are partners. They do everything and he gets everything. They do the work and he does them.

A lesson in Eugenics:

Lady:—Have you any experience of children?

Woman:—No, Ma'am, I've always worked in the best families.

The "Daily Mail" says: "Single Men First." It wants cheap soldiers, but that's not all. It was stated during the South African War that the "Mail" was staffed by office boys. Since then it appears they've all got married. Hence the noble offer of the single men first. It recalls what Artemus Ward wrote to King Edward: "I have already given two cousins to the war, and I stand ready to sacrifice my wife's brother ruther'n not see the enemy krusht. And if wuss comes to wuss, I'll shed every drop of blood by myself relations has got to proskoot the war."

It was pay-day and the wage-slave crawled into the pay-office of the Gas Light and Coke Company. A shiver ran down his back as his eye fell on the "writing on the wall":

"ONLY SEVENTEEN MORE DAYS!

GO! DON'T BE PUSHED!

"It's come at last!" he gasped, staggering forward to meet his fate. "This means the sack—and another bloom'in volunteer."

A minute later the wage-slave was being carried out on a stretcher.

"It wasn't the poster as did it, Maryann," the wage-slave was explaining. "But arter readin' 'only seventeen more days, go, don't be pushed!' and then ter find, instead hein' pushed they'd given us all a bob-a-week rise, and without arstin', rekerle; without arstin'—that's what done it. That's the third without ever hein' arst, Lumme, they don't arf luvs these days, they don't, not arf!"

The SLACKER.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE, REDDISH LANE, HORTON, from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.
HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.**BRANCH DIRECTORY.**

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.
BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Speacial-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

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FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 205 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

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KILBURN.—Sec., c/o F. R. Edwards, 319 West End-ld. W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 104 Malvern-rd., W. Kilburn.

MANCHESTER.—B. Cheshire, Sec., to Tempest-st., Ardwick, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Weds. at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at above address.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

NOTTINGHAM.—Communs. to Sec., 453 Meadow-le., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sundays at 8.30 a.m. at Elkington, 34 Peckham Rye. Discussion after.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Carisbrook-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets alt. Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberta," 6, Hermage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday at 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-rd.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 107 Kensington-ave, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-rd. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revele, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 11 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
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- "Cotton's Weekly." (Canada.)
- "Appeal to Reason." (Kansas.)
- "International Socialist" (Sydney).
- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "Washington Socialist" (Washington).
- "New Age" (Buffalo, N.Y.)
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

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THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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